1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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With regard to the comparative density per square mile of the different groups it may be pointed out that the reason for the smaller density of the South Andaman is the fact that the *Aka-Bea* and *Jarawa* were living there at war with one another, and the territory was therefore probably not so fully occupied as in other parts of the islands where boundaries between neighbouring tribes were well defined. The food supply of the Little Andaman does not seem to be so abundant as that of the Great Andaman in proportion to its area. It must be remembered that length of coast-line is of more importance to the Andamanese than the actual area of their country. The natives of the Little Andamán are not able to harpoon turtle and large fish, which constitute an important element of the food supply of the tribes of the Great Andaman.

If the figures of the above estimate be correct, it will be seen that the population of the North Andaman has been reduced in less than fifty years (1858–1901) to about 27 per cent. of its former volume, while in the same period the population of the Middle Andaman and South Andaman has been reduced to about 18 per cent. As the tribes in the south were the first to come into contact with the Settlement, their numbers have diminished more rapidly than those of the northern tribes. It is probable that in another fifty years the natives of the Great Andaman tribes will be extinct.

The diminution of population has combined with other causes to alter considerably the mode of life of the islanders. What were formerly distinct and often hostile communities are now merged together. The different languages have become corrupt, and some tribes have adopted customs of other tribes and have abandoned their own. Most of the younger men and women of the friendly tribes of the Great Andaman now speak a little Hindustani (Urdu) in a somewhat corrupt form. The friendly natives are under the charge of an officer of the Settlement, known as the Officer in Charge of the Andamanese. A Home and Hospital are provided for them in Port Blair, and natives from all parts, even from the extreme north, go there either to be treated in the Hospital or to stay at the Home. During certain parts of the year some of the natives

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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177 are employed in collecting trepang (bêche de mer) under the direction of petty officers, who are natives of India or Burma. The trepang, together with wild honey and shells collected by the Andamanese, is sold, and the money is devoted to the service of the Andamanese Department. There is also a grant of money from the Government of India, in return for which the Officer in Charge must, when necessary, provide Andamanese to track and capture any convicts who may run away from the Penal Settlement. The funds thus made available serve to provide the natives with blankets, cloth, iron tools and scrap iron, rice, sugar, tea and tobacco. The result of this system is that there is a free circulation of natives in all parts of the Great Andaman. Whereas, formerly, the natives kept carefully to their own part of the country, they now make long journeys, either in their own canoes, or in Government launches, and members of the northern tribes are to be found at Port Blair and elsewhere in the south, while men and women of the southern tribes are to be found engaged in collecting trepang in the north.

The natives of the Little Andaman have as yet scarcely been affected by these changes. Within recent years, however, some of the natives of the northern part of the Little Andaman have been in the habit of making periodical visits to Rutland Island in their canoes, and occasionally come as far as Port Blair. Their chief reason for visiting the Settlement is to obtain iron for their arrows and adzes, but they have also begun to appreciate sugar and tobacco.

114 The manners and customs of the Andaman Islanders have formed the subject of a number of writings. By far the most important of these is a work by Mr E. H. Man, who was for some years an officer of the Penal Settlement of Port Blair, and for four years of that time was in charge of the Andamanese Home. Mr Man made a special study of the language of the *Aka-Bea* tribe and compiled an extensive vocabulary, which, however, has never been published. His observations on the manners and customs of this tribe and others of the South Andaman were published in the *Journal of the Anthropological Institute* of the year 1882 (Volume XII), and were reprinted in the form of a book *On the Aboriginal Inhabitants of the*

1. Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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301 a position where it is not likely to get lost when running through the jungle, and where it is immediately accessible when wanted. The necklet also serves as a means of carrying bees'-wax, which is in constant use amongst the natives, a small ball of the wax being attached to one of the ends of the string of which the necklet is made.

291 As a rule, in everyday life, the men wear only a belt, or a belt and necklace. Those natives who visit the Settlement of • 177 Port Blair have been required by the European officers to wear 834 a strip of cloth over the genitals. It has now become the rule to wear such a loin cloth whenever they are in the neighbourhood of a European. This, however, is a modern custom, and, in former times the men went freely with no covering whatever, as do the inhabitants of the Little Andaman at the present time. As showing the extent to which the natives have been influenced in this matter by outside opinion, it may be mentioned that at the present day many of the younger men, particularly those who have been brought up at Port Blair, regard it as very immodest to be seen without some covering over the genitals.

301 On ceremonial occasions, such as the dance at the end of mourning, or a big dance-meeting, the men put on a number of ornaments. A common costume on such occasions consists of a belt, necklace, bracelets, and garters of netting and *Dentalium* shell. A belt and necklace of this kind are to be seen in Plate V, and garters are worn by the woman in Plate IX. An alternative costume for men consists of a set of ornaments of *Pandanus* leaf (belt, chaplet, bracelets and garters), decorated with *Dentalium* and other shells. Garters of this kind are shown in Plate XII.

301 Other objects are worn by the natives for magical purposes. 755 Chief amongst these are the strings made of human bones which 751 are worn to prevent and cure sickness. The bones are attached to a length of rope, and this is generally decorated with shells or with *Dendrobium* skin. These strings of bones are worn most commonly as chaplets, necklaces or belts, but they may also be made into garters and bracelets. The bones of animals, such as pig, turtle, dugong, etc., are treated in exactly the same way

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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Arrows of this kind are used in pig-hunting. The fore-shaft is inserted into the end of the shaft, the cord attaching the two being wound spirally round the end of the shaft. When a pig is struck the barbs prevent the head from coming out of the wound. As the pig attempts to run away the shaft catches against the undergrowth of the jungle and comes loose from the fore-shaft. Sooner or later the shaft becomes entangled in the undergrowth and holds the wounded pig fast till the hunters can come up with it and despatch it. It is obvious that the cord of the arrow needs to be so strong that the pig cannot break it.

The natives of the Great Andaman tribes say that before they had plenty of iron they made similar pig-arrows with heads of shell and barbs of pig's bone.

The natives of the Little Andaman make a pig-arrow very similar to that of the Great Andaman tribes, but on the average somewhat longer. The cord attaching the fore-shaft to the shaft consists of a length of double two-ply rope of *Hibiscus* fibre. The binding of the arrow is done with thread of the *Gnetum* fibre instead of *Anadendron*, and is not coated with composition but is smeared with bees'-wax. The barb (there being usually only one) is not fixed in the same plane as the head, but in the plane at right angles to it. (Fig. 20.)

Amongst the Jarawa the head of the pig-arrow is attached to the fore-shaft by a different method, holes being made in the iron through which the thread that holds it is passed. (Fig. 21.)

Another kind of pig-arrow is sometimes made in the Great Andaman that has not a detachable head. The shaft is a length of bamboo into one end of which is fitted a fore-shaft of wood. The end of this fore-shaft is split and a head of iron is inserted into it and bound there. Such an arrow may be without barbs or may have one or two barbs of iron. It is used only rarely and then chiefly for despatching a pig that has already been struck by an arrow of the usual kind. The natives say that in former times arrows of this kind were used in fighting in preference to ordinary pig-arrows, which, however, were also used.

In former times the natives of the Great Andaman, according to their own statements, made an arrow consisting of a bamboo shaft at the end of which was inserted a head made of *Areca* wood. An arrow of this kind, made for me by a native, is shown in Fig. 22.

None of the arrows made in any part of the Andamans is feathered.

In a comparison of the arrows of the Andamanese with those of the Semang and the Philippine Negritos the most interesting point is that

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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411 The true fish-spear is unknown in the Andamans though use is sometimes made of a harpoon similar to the turtle harpoon, but of smaller dimensions and with a finer line, for harpooning fish.

227 In the North Andaman a sort of fish-gig was formerly in use made of about twelve pieces of *Areca* wood of about 105 to 110 cm. long and 1 cm. or less broad and with tapered and sharp-pointed ends. These were fastened side by side by means of a strip of wood near one end, as shown in Fig. 26. This weapon was used for spearing small fish in pools on the reef.

Fig. 26. North Andaman fish-gig

CUTTING IMPLEMENTS.

412 At the present time the Andamanese make use of iron for their cutting implements. It is uncertain when ● 177 they first learnt the use of iron, but it was certainly before the end of the eighteenth century. What iron they had was obtained from wrecks, of which there have always been a number on the Andamans. The metal has only become plentiful since the European settlement of 1858.

412 It is highly probable that the Andamanese, though 325 they may have learnt the use of iron from implements used by visitors to their shores, have not learnt from any other people the method of working the metal. Even at the present day they do not make any use of heat in the manufacture of their iron implements, the metal being worked cold. It seems highly probable that they have simply adopted in connection with iron the methods they formerly used in dealing with other materials, particularly shells.

The materials used by the Andamanese, apart from iron, are wood, bone, shell and stone. We may begin by considering their use of stone.

412 In former times quartz flakes were used by the Andamanese for the two purposes of shaving and scarifying the skin, and for 324 hardly any other purpose. (Among minor uses of stone flakes may be mentioned those of cutting the finger-nails, and sharpening boars' tusks.) A quartz pebble is held in the left hand and is struck with a hard rounded pebble of any suitable kind. A flake is thus knocked off and falls into the palm of the left hand. The flake is examined, and if it be suitable it is

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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whet-stone. The natives are always eager to obtain files which enable them to do this part of the work much more rapidly. When the arrow-head has been ground into shape the edges are sharpened. Blades for adzes are made in exactly the same way from any suitable piece of iron or steel, such as a cutlass or an old file or a piece of thick hoop-iron. The adze-blade is attached to a handle of mangrove wood by the method shown in Fig. 28.

The barbs of pig-arrows and the points of fish-arrows are made in the same way by breaking the metal into a suitable shape and then grinding it on a whet-stone. It is probable that this was the method that was formerly used for dealing with bone for these purposes.

In the case of the knife, iron or steel is now substituted for cane or bamboo, but the knife has retained its shape in spite of the change of material. The shape of a knife, whether of cane or of iron, with its attached skewer of *Areca* wood is shown in Fig. 28.

In the case of the harpoon the native tradition is that this implement was only made after they had discovered the use of iron.

At the present time both the Semang and the Negritos of the Philippines make use of iron. The Semang heat the iron until it is red-hot and then batter it into shape between two stones[1]. The shapes of the iron weapons and implements which they make follow fairly closely those made by the Malays.

In an attempt to reconstruct the primitive Negrito culture it would seem that the most reasonable hypothesis is that the primitive Negritos had no knowledge of iron and had not learnt to fashion implements out of stone, but relied entirely on such materials as wood, bone and shell. The Andamanese, becoming possessed of iron through wrecks upon their islands, applied to it the technique that they had developed for dealing with shell, and thereby invented their present method of working iron without heating it. The Semang and the Negritos of the Philippines probably first learnt the use of iron from their neighbours of other races. There is not at present any evidence to show that the Negritos ever had any method of working stone except the very simple one at present in use in the Andamans for making flakes.

String, Rope, Mats, Baskets, and Netting.

For string, rope and thread the Andaman Islanders make use of a number of different vegetable substances, but they make no use what-

[1] Skeat, p. 383.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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286 length of string is taken and the two ends tied together, the loop thus formed being placed over the big toe as the woman sits on the ground.

284 The knot used in netting is that known as the fisherman's knot. 286 in use all over the world. The needle is held in the right hand, is passed from above downwards through the loop marked *a* in the figure, and is drawn through far enough to leave a new loop *b* of the required size. This loop is held between the thumb and forefinger of the left hand, the uniformity in mesh being apparently obtained largely by the sense of touch. The needle is then passed through the new loop *b* again from above and is drawn out leaving a loop *c*, through which the needle is passed once more, forming the finished knot, which is then drawn taut.

286 When netting is made for personal apparel it is generally ornamented with strips of *Dendrobium* skin worked in with the thread in the course of the netting. Netting for personal ornaments consists of a sort of bag open at both ends. Each end is tied with a string passed through the ultimate loops, and this string serves to tie the band of net round the waist or neck or wrist or knee.

286 Fishing nets are attached to a handle. The handles of the Little 227 Andaman Division and those of the Great Andaman Division are different in shape. The Great Andaman net with its hoop can be folded up compactly for carriage, while that of the Little Andaman cannot.

The nets of rope formerly used in the Great Andaman for catching turtle have been already described.

Domestic Implements and Utensils.

372 The Andamanese are perhaps the only people in the world who 177 have no method of their own of making fire. At the present time they obtain matches from the Settlement of Port Blair, and a few of them have learnt, either from Burmese or from Nicobarese, a method of making fire by the friction of pieces of split bamboo. Formerly, however, they had no knowledge of any method by which fire could be produced. Fires were and still are carefully kept alive in the village, and are carefully carried when travelling. Every hunting party carries its fire with it. The natives are very skilful in selecting wood that will smoulder for a long time without going out and without breaking into flame.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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A number of other common designs consist of parallel lines of dots or of short strokes, an example of which is shown in Fig. 42 *f*.

By far the greater number of the Andamanese designs are based on the following elements, (1) parallel lines crossing a surface from side to side at right angles to the edge or else in a sloping direction (about 45°), (2) parallel lines of dots or of short lines, i.e. parallel broken lines, as in Fig. 42 *f*, (3) zig-zag lines, which may be single, or parallel or opposed so as to make lines of lozenges. As an example of the way in which these elements may be combined two designs copied from bamboo necklaces are shown in Fig. 43.

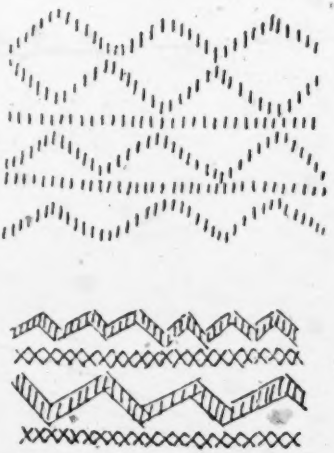

Fig. 43. Designs on bamboo necklace from the North Andaman

It would perhaps be possible to show that there is a real connection between the ornamentation of the Andamanese and that of the Semang, as there is certainly a considerable degree of superficial resemblance, but at present we understand so little the psychological processes underlying the use of ornament amongst primitive peoples that the subject is one of considerable difficulty.

Canoes.

Canoes are in regular use on the coast in all parts of the islands. There are three types of canoe. (1) The Little Andaman canoe, with one outrigger, propelled with paddles or with a pole. (2) The Great Andaman small canoe, with one outrigger, propelled with paddles or with a pole. (3) The Great Andaman large canoe, without outrigger, propelled with oars.

The third kind of canoe mentioned above is a recent innovation. The natives themselves say that such canoes have only been made in recent times, since they have been able to obtain a plentiful supply of iron tools, and so have been able to cut down and hollow out large trunks[1]. They seem to have been invented by the natives of the South Andaman, and copied by those of the Middle and North Andaman.

[1] Man, *Journ. Anthr. Inst.* XII, p. 367, note 4.

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177 From the very commencement of the new Settlement, as has been stated, serious difficulties had to be contended with in consequence of the harassing attacks on our working parties by the aborigines, whose cupidity was excited by the iron tools and other implements which in their eyes presented an appearance of adaptability as weapons of the chase; the Government Gardens they likewise freely robbed, until at length stern repressive measures had to be adopted whereby they were instructed for the first time in the laws of private property. A wholesome dread of our power having been duly instilled, efforts were made by Government with a view to the civilisation of the race and the establishment of a better understanding between ourselves and the original possessors of the soil. Homes were accordingly erected in the vicinity of the harbour, where all who needed might obtain protection, shelter, food, and medicine. This step, which was deemed the best, if not the only means of furthering one of the objects which had prompted the re-establishment of the colony—*i.e.*, of reclaiming the savages from their barbarous custom of murdering all strangers who approached their shores—effected a marked improvement in our relations with the tribes in South Andaman[1] by affording them convincing proof of our friendly intentions towards them, so that now, as Dr. Day has stated, "the convicts are left unmolested, the implements of agriculture are not stolen, the fishing stakes are left undisturbed, the gardens are no longer pillaged, runaway convicts have been recaptured, and shipwrecked sailors assisted."

It must not, however, be supposed that these beneficial results were immediately obtained, for it could hardly be expected that the aborigines should at once believe in our goodwill towards them, or forget their resentment against the people who had taken possession of their fine harbour and ousted them from many of their favourite haunts; in process of time, however, the kind and judicious treatment they consistently met with, first from Rev. H. F. Corbyn, and during ten subsequent years from Mr. J. N. Homfray, had the desired effect, and they have learned not only to regard us with favour, but also to assist us in a variety of ways.

[1] Recently (July, 1883) four men and two women were forwarded to Calcutta for the purpose of being modelled for the International Exhibition; while there they were quartered for a few weeks in the Zoological Gardens, where they attracted great crowds of Bengalis, who had never before had an opportunity of seeing the people whom they are said to regard as the descendants of the Rakshasas (!) Circumstances proved that their Port Blair training had not been lost on these representatives of their race, for on being asked by their visitors for a souvenir in the shape of a lock of their corkscrew ringlets, they promptly demanded a rupee before granting the favour; and in like manner the pleasure of witnessing an Andaman dance was not to be obtained previous to some *k-pū ku-* (money, lit. "slices") having been bestowed upon the performers!

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To Mr. Homfray great credit is due for the zeal and energy he displayed in conciliating the members of the various tribes who visited the Homes: he spared neither time nor his private means in promoting their welfare and gratifying their wants, and so thoroughly identified himself with their concerns and interests as to gain their entire confidence and goodwill; he also acquired a fair colloquial knowledge of the South Andaman language, but abandoned an attempt he made to form a vocabulary. As Mr. Homfray's labours may be fairly said to have paved the way, and rendered easier the task of conducting ethnological and philological researches among the aborigines, it is due to his memory that this slight acknowledgment should be here made of his good services.[1]

The Homes have effected good by bringing together members of the various tribes, between whom the way has thus been paved for intermarriages, which were of course formerly of rare occurrence; tribal feuds have also here been amicably arranged, while, through visits paid to Port Blair and other Homes by members of all the Great Andaman tribes, as well as by our visits in the station steamer to the more distant encampments, the knowledge of our power, resources, and kindly intentions has spread throughout their respective territories.

It cannot, however, be contended that our attempts to reclaim the Andamanese from their savage state have produced unmixed beneficial results, for it is found that in proportion as they gain in intelligence and tractability, the more fat and indolent do they become, and having no incentive towards exertion frequently lose in great measure their quondam skill in hunting;—availing themselves of the privileges of free board and quarters, they spend their time for days together in singing, dancing, and feasting; the spirit of independence becomes thus less conspicuous, as they learn to depend upon others for the supply of their daily requirements, instead of being compelled to make such provision for themselves. There can, moreover, be no doubt that the effect of our clearances of jungle has been prejudicial to the health of the aborigines; while the excessive tobacco-smoking[2] among members of both sexes, which has been unrestricted, has seriously undermined their already enfeebled constitutions. If the evil ended here there would be ground for regret, but a graver cause exists in the deterioration which has taken place in their morals through

[1] Mr. Homfray died suddenly at Port Blair on February 25th, 1883, after twenty years' service in the Settlement.

[2] It is pitiable to notice the evident distelish and discomfort endured by one of these savages when first given a pipe of tobacco, yet from sheer determination to share an experience which has such apparent attractions for their compatriots they willingly undergo the misery of nausea for several days till they have habituated themselves to its use.

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177 their unavoidable contact with the alien convict population, the lamentable consequences of which will be found under the head of "Pathology."[1] So widespread is the evil influence that has been exercised, that on no point probably will future writers differ so strongly as on the social and moral virtues of the Andamanese. I wish, therefore, to make it clear to my readers that my remarks and observations on all, and especially on these points, are restricted to those communities who have been found living in their primitive state, and who may therefore be fairly considered as representatives of the race, being unaffected by the virtues or vices of so-called civilisation.

The measure of success which was considered to have attended the establishment of the Homes suggested that further good might be effected by the formation of a school or Orphanage for the education of the younger members of the aboriginal population. Accordingly in 1869 a commencement was made with a few children who had been obtained by Mr. Homfray from their guardians or relatives, and who were now placed under the care of a matron on Ross Island, where the Orphanage was opened. In 1870 two ladies from the Kidderpore Asylum (Calcutta) undertook the charge of the Orphanage, in which there were at that time more than forty children of both sexes. For some months the nature of the instruction given was of course of the simplest, comprising chiefly habits of neatness and cleanliness, the alphabet, and a little needlework and basket-making. It soon became apparent that the children possessed much intelligence and were wonderfully apt with their fingers; they were also very amenable to discipline, and proved therefore in every respect extremely interesting and promising pupils, whose chief fault was found to be the not uncommon one of want of perseverance; nevertheless, during the first year's training the baskets made by the lads and disposed of locally realised Rs. 100, while the girls earned a further sum by their needlework and fancy articles, besides which they made up the clothing for the entire party.[2]

After two or three years' labour in the Orphanage the Kidderpore ladies resigned the charge, and some difficulty was experienced in arranging for the retention of the girls; however some were finally taken by certain residents, who were desirous of training them as servants, while others were speedily married. With regard to the boys the question was less easy of solution, for it was found that those who had been taken in hand at too advanced an age began to pine for a return to their native jungles, and so intense did this desire become, that, in spite of meeting with every discouragement, they were discovered one morning to

[1] *Vide* Part I.
[2] *Vide* Appendix N.

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have settled the matter for themselves by swimming away from the island.

The problem as to how the lads trained in the so-called Orphanage shall be disposed of in some profitable manner has been partially solved by training them to serve as domestic servants; but the question as to their marriage remains yet to be dealt with, for of all the girls originally trained in the Orphanage two only have continued in the Settlement, the other survivors having long since resumed the customs of their jungle homes. To encourage the marriage of the lads in question with girls brought up in the jungle, or even in one of the Homes, would probably result in re-associating, the former with those who—so strong is their general inclination towards a jungle life—would wean them from their civilised ways, thereby rendering abortive the many years' training bestowed upon them, and which has moreover unfitted them for the conditions of a savage home.

It has been ascertained that up to about the age of ten or eleven years these aborigines can hold their own with ordinary children of civilised races in respect to mental culture, but after that period further progress seems arrested. Some remarkable instances might be mentioned of boys and girls[1] who at no more than nine or ten years of age were able to read difficult passages from an Urdu book quite fluently, and explain the meaning of any word in ordinary use; it would appear, however, that, physically speaking, training has a deteriorating effect, for of all the children who have passed through the Orphanage, probably not more than ten are alive at the present time, while of those that have been married, two or three only have become parents, and of their children not one has been reared. In respect to morality, too, it must be confessed that they have suffered from contact with the convict population.

And thus, though the Orphanage, like the Homes, has not accomplished all the good anticipated by its promoters, the kindness and interest taken in their little ones have undoubtedly contributed towards strengthening the friendly relations previously established between the aborigines and ourselves.

Friendly intercourse among the tribes has been of late years further encouraged and extended by visits paid in the station

[1] One of these girls (Ruth) was highly trained by Mrs. Homfray, and is able to speak, read, and write English, as well as to converse glibly in Hindustani. As she has been with us from infancy, it is hardly necessary to say that she is ignorant of her native tongue. Ruth is also an accomplished needlewoman, and is clever at making designs; she wears the European costume, not excepting bonnets and hats. Some idea of the advance she has made on her fellow-countrymen (who are still in the stone age) may be gathered from the above statements, but further proof is found in the fact of her asking for and obtaining an English dictionary, which she says she finds "very useful" when writing her letters!

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steamer to the more distant encampments by the officer in charge of the Homes[1] accompanied by males and females of the Southern tribes.[2] On these occasions dogs, iron, beads, and various other articles highly prized by the aborigines have been deposited in the huts from which the occupants had fled, or presented to such individuals as had courage to approach; stringent measures were at the same time taken to check the almost irresistible propensity of the *ōb̄ojig-ngī̄ji-* to appropriate all portable property in the temporarily vacated camping grounds.

In these trips Little Andaman has been also visited, but all our efforts to conciliate the *jārawa-* (or inhabitants of that island) with their offshoot in South Andaman have hitherto proved fruitless. This may in part be due to the summary punishment[3] we have been compelled on two occasions to inflict for cruel murders perpetrated on inoffensive mariners; but it may also be attributable to the exclusiveness and hostility which appear as tribal peculiarities, and which are directed alike against their fellow savages and ourselves, as has been demonstrated by the terror with which they have in recent years inspired the South Andamanese, and in bygone years the Car-Nicobarese,[4] on whom they were formerly in the habit of making raids for purposes of plunder. For a long time now, however, they have desisted from these predatory expeditions, and have confined themselves[5] to the islands and localities which are regarded as their territory; but still, cases have occurred from time to time which keep alive the unpleasant conviction that any unfortunates who might be wrecked, or should venture to land on their coasts without sufficient means of self-defence, would be as mercilessly massacred now as at any date in their history.

The various measures already detailed as having been taken in order to benefit the aborigines have convinced all who have come within their influence of our friendly intentions; even the distant communities of Great Andaman are now becoming as well known and as favourably disposed towards us as are our

[1] An account of one of these visits will be found in the form of a private letter which was published in "Journ. Anthrop. Inst.," vol. vii.

[2] Experience has taught us that one of the most effective means of inspiring confidence when endeavouring to make acquaintance with these savages, is to show that we are accompanied by women, as they at once infer that whatever may be our intentions, they are at least not hostile.

[3] A further possible cause of the continued disinclination of the *jārawa-* to accept our advances is believed to be due to one or more runaway convicts, who may have succeeded in settling in their midst, and who in order to lessen their own chances of recapture and punishment, have given unfavourable accounts of us.

[4] How the *jārawa-* came to discover the distant low-lying island of Car-Nicobar is not known, but it is probably traceable to some trifling circumstance, such as the accidental drifting of a boat far out to sea.

[5] *Vide* Part I, "Tribal Distribution," p. 30, and "Communications," p. 45.

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immediate neighbours the *.bō·jig-ngī·ji-*, and we have every reason to believe that crews of vessels shipwrecked on any portion of the Great Andaman coast would not only escape molestation and attack, but would receive such assistance as it might be in the power of these savages to render. That their animosity in past years was not unfounded is attested by the reports of Captain Miller and Père Barbe, both of which will be found quoted at some length in the "Journal of the Anthropological Institute" for 1882–3, p. 339.[1]

On referring to the accompanying map of the Andamans it will be seen that according to our present knowledge[2] the aboriginal inhabitants are divided into no less than nine tribes, viz.:

.bō·jig-ngī·ji-	..	South Andaman.
.bal·awa- ..	..	Archipelago.
.bō·jig-yâb- *.ô-ko-.jū·wai-* *.â·kà-.ked·e-* *.â·kà-.kôl-*	..	Middle Andaman.
.â·kà-jāro- *.â·kà-.châ·riar-*	..	North Andaman.
jār·awa- ..	..	Inhabitating Little Andaman and southern portions of Great Andaman.[4]

Although the *.bō·jig-ngī·ji-* are here shown, and in the following pages are described, as the natives of South Andaman—including Rutland and Labyrinth Island—there is no evidence to prove that they have ever been in undisputed possession of the whole of this territory; indeed, the scattered encampments of *jār·awa-*, which are marked on the map as occupying certain portions within their territory give substance to the belief that before our advent they suffered from the inroads of their marauding neighbours, whose occupancy is proved to be of no recent date by the *jār·awa* kitchen-middens,[5] evidently of

[1] *Vide* Part III, "Trade, &c.," p. 119.

[2] How erroneous were the views formerly held may be gathered from the following extracts:—"The Andamans . . . do not even exist in a state of tribedom" (Figuier). "They have no tribal distinctions" (Wood). "In Great Andaman there is only one tribe" (Mouat).

[3] These are the names by which they are designated by the *.bō·jig-ngī·ji-*, who, being our immediate neighbours, are the best known of all the tribes.

[4] As these communities possess many, if not all, the characteristics of the inhabitants of Little Andaman, and are presumed to have had constant communication with them in past years, they are designated by the *.bō·jig-ngī·ji-* by the name of *jār·awa*.

[5] These are distinguished from those of the *.bō·jig-ngī·ji-* with readiness by members of the latter tribe, on account of the presence of the valves of certain molluscs, which they assert were never (according to tradition) considered as articles of diet by their own immediate ancestors.

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presented by their densely wooded and hilly country, which facts have combined to isolate the various communities, and to check freedom of intercourse among them; further, in the case of Little Andaman, it may fairly be assumed that the peculiar bee-hive form of their huts, as well as certain modifications of their domestic habits and customs, have been borrowed from their neighbours, the Car Nicobarese, upon whom, in the last century, they made some hostile raids.

IV. That, in spite of all our endeavours to protect them, contact with civilisation has been marked with the usual lamentable result of reducing the aboriginal population; indeed, the death-rate, among those within the area of our influence, during the past twenty years has so far exceeded the birth-rate, as to compel the belief that before many decades have passed, the race, at least that portion of it which inhabits Great Andaman, will be well-nigh extinct.

In view of their probable early extermination, and the rapidity with which they are being meantime reduced to the standard of civilised manners, it seems very desirable that, ere it be too late, all possible information respecting their habits, customs, physical characteristics, etc., should be obtained, more especially as many of the errors which, excusably enough, found their way into the early accounts, having been allowed to pass unchallenged, are accepted as trustworthy, and false ethnological theories are built on these most imperfect bases.

Almost all accounts which have been written regarding these islanders speak of them as *Mincopies*, in explanation of which it is asserted that it is thus "these people style themselves;" but this is far from being the case, for not only is the name, or any at all resembling it, unknown to the *.bō·jig-ngī·ji-*,[1] *i.e.*, the inhabitants of South Andaman, but the other six tribes with which we are acquainted are in a like state of ignorance as to its origin and significance. The only sounds at all approximating it in the South Andaman dialect at the present day being *min kaich!* (come here!) and *kâ·min kâ·pi!* (stand here!). The former of these being in common use may have given rise to the term (*Mincopie*) as a nickname, to which, indeed, it may possibly have borne a more striking similarity of sound in the language spoken at the period when this name was first adopted; for each generation cannot fail to produce changes more remarkable, and even of greater importance in the phonology of an unwritten language, such as this, depending as

[1] For the list of symbols adopted for denoting the sounds in this language *see* Appendix A; this list has been finally adopted in accordance with the kind advice of Mr. A. J. Ellis, F.R.S., whose valuable assistance I would here again gratefully acknowledge.

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her husband. In the event, however, of the widow of a chief being young and childless, she returns to the home of her maiden days, and is in a measure lost sight of, as she sinks to her former position.

9. It is believed by the people themselves that the system above described has prevailed among them from a remote period.

Covenants, Oaths, Ordeals.—1. No forms of covenant are to be traced in their dealings with one another, nor is there to be found among them anything of the nature of an oath or of an appeal to a higher power—as Heaven or the Sun—to punish breach of faith, or to bear witness to the truth.

2. They are in too primitive a state to possess any form of trial, or even to have any belief in the efficacy of an ordeal for discovering a guilty person; nor does it appear that any such practice existed in times past.

Laws.[1]—1. Justice, as I have already said, is administered by the simple method of allowing the aggrieved party to take the law into his own hands, which he usually does, either by flinging a burning faggot, or discharging an arrow, at, or more frequently *near*, the offender, while all who may be present lose no time in beating a retreat, and—taking with them as much of their property as their haste will allow—remain in concealment until sufficient time has elapsed for the settlement of the quarrel. When such an affair seems imminent, and likely to be serious, friends often interpose, seize the disputants, and remove their weapons, which are not restored so long as there appears any risk of their misusing them.

2. Should a man kill his opponent nothing is necessarily said or done to him, though it is permissible for a friend or relative of the deceased to avenge his death; in most cases, however, the murderer succeeds in striking such terror in the minds of the community that no one ventures to assail him or even to express any disapprobation of his conduct while he is within hearing: as conscience, however, makes cowards of us all, the homicide, from prudential motives, not unfrequently absents himself till he is assured that the grief and indignation of his victim's friends have considerably abated.

3. These remarks do not now-a-days apply, to the same extent, to those living near us, for the terror inspired by the punishments inflicted in all cases of murder brought to our notice has resulted in materially diminishing crimes of this nature among them. In May, 1880, an Andamanese youth was hanged

[1] As regards laws (!) relating to inheritance, information will be found in a subsequent paper, under the heading of "Property," paragraph 3.

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at Port Blair for the murder of one of his countrymen. He had previously, in 1878, been sentenced to imprisonment for the murder of two children of his tribe, and he committed his last crime soon after his discharge. This has hitherto been the only occasion on which any of these savages has suffered the extreme penalty of British law. It may be added, that this last step was not taken until the unhappy wretch, as well as all his fellow-countrymen in South Andaman, had been repeatedly warned that no other than a capital sentence would in future be passed on those convicted of murder.

4. It is by no means an uncommon occurrence for a man, or even a boy, to vent his ill-temper, or show his resentment at any act, by destroying his own property as well as that of his neighbours, sparing only the things belonging exclusively to the chief, or other head man. The amount of damage done at such times, to canoes and other articles of more or less value, will often give occasion for several weeks' employment in repairing and replacing to himself and his companions; but as these outbreaks are looked upon as the result of a temporary "possession," and the victim considered, for the time being, dangerous, and unaccountable for his actions, no one ventures to offer any opposition, or impose any restraint upon him.

5. Women, when in a rage, occasionally act in a similar manner towards one of their own sex, or even to all the females of the encampment, injuring or destroying their nets, baskets, and other articles; at other times they will seize a burning log, and, banging it furiously on the ground, vent their feelings by some such exclamation as *ngig mūgu jābagike!* (May your face become hideous!); or they will struggle and fight till they are forcibly separated by the wife or daughter of their head man. They do not, however, attempt to settle their differences with the stronger sex, but leave it to their husbands or male relatives to obtain redress for their real or fancied grievances.

6. When a chief or elder so far forgets himself as to lose his temper, those of his own standing betake themselves to their huts, while the other members of the community, male and female, beat a hasty retreat to some secluded spot, for no one would venture to find fault with one in authority, and with some reason, for little or no harm usually results to the community, while his own reputation is sure to suffer. Should he, however, wantonly cause loss or injury to any of his people, they would be pretty certain to take an early, though secret, opportunity of repaying him in kind.

Crime.—1. That outcome of civilisation, suicide, is unknown among them; but, since they have seen cases of self-murder among the alien population, they have coined a lengthy com

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762 pound word (*ō·yun-tē·mar-tō·liganga-*) in order to express the nature of the act.

673 2. That they are not entirely devoid of moral consciousness may, I think, in some measure, be demonstrated by the fact of their possessing a word, *yū·bda-*, signifying sin or wrong doing, which is used in connection with falsehood, theft, grave assault, murder, adultery, and — burning wax (!),[1] which deeds are believed to anger *Pū·luga-*, the Creator, of whom more will be said hereafter.[2]

627 837 3. Cases of adultery in their own villages are said to be of rare occurrence. If detected, the injured husband would probably inflict condign punishment on the guilty parties, but at the risk of retaliation on the part of the male offender and his friends; there appears, however, to be an understanding, that the greater the provocation offered the less is the risk incurred of the injured person or his friends avenging the wrong, but no appeal to the chief for redress is ever made.

628 674 4. If an offence, such as an assault or theft, be committed by one or more members of another tribe during a visit or by stealth, it is regarded as premeditated, and generally resented as a tribal affair, resulting in a feud and more or less bloodshed.

5. Intercourse with Europeans and other foreigners has, it 273 must be confessed, unhappily opened their eyes to the existence ●177 of some vices of which they had formerly no knowledge;[3] notably is this the case with regard to drunkenness, for, being, till the time they made our acquaintance, "blessed in the ignorance of spirituous liquors," they had no conception of its effects, and, to express an inebriate, have invented a word (*lē·lēkanga-*) signifying "staggerer." It must, however, be added, that in consequence of the extreme partiality for rum and other intoxicating drinks which they manifest, much care has to be taken to prevent them from gratifying the easily acquired taste.

Narcotics.—1. Prior to our advent they were also entirely 276 ignorant of narcotics in any form; but one of the evil results of 177 their intercourse with us has been the introduction of the practice of smoking, and so rapidly have they (both men and women) acquired the habit, that, when at a distance from the homes and unable to obtain tobacco, they have been seen to fill their short clay pipes, which, it is scarcely necessary to say, have been obtained from us, with *pán* leaves rather than endure entire deprivation.

[1] *Vide* "Journ. Anthrop. Inst.," vol. xi, p. 288, and *post*, "Superstitions," paragraph 13.

[2] *Vide post* "Religious Beliefs," paragraph 8.

[674] [3] The crimes of abduction, rape, seduction, unnatural offences, &c., appear never to have been committed among them.

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881 262 continue to watch him carefully for two or three days, lest harm should result from his recent feast, and also because they think evil spirits are not unlikely to do him some injury by taking advantage of his supposed helpless condition to make him deaf, or cause him to forget his way, and thus meet the fate which, on the faith of their traditions, they believe to have overtaken two of their antediluvian ancestors.[1]

881 6. All that has been said of youths in respect to the *yâ·dī-gū·mul-* applies equally to young women, except that matrons remove the novice's ornaments, and all but one or two of her [834] *bōd-s* (waistbelts[2]), and her *ō·bunga-* (leaf apron[3]), which are left for the sake of decency. As, while performing the concluding dance, some difficulty is experienced in regard to the *ō·bunga-*, girls are provided on these occasions with a more substantial apron of leaves, so that the feelings of the most prudish are not violated.

7. The origin of the term *gū·mul-lē·ke* is obscure, and inquiries have failed to elicit any satisfactory explanation regarding it; the literal translation is "rainy-monsoon devour-does," and though the *yâ·dī-gū·mul-* is always celebrated at that season of the year, the term is also applied to the honey feast, which can only take place during the dry months. The same equivalents are found in the other tribal dialects, so that the peculiarity is not confined to the *bō·jig-ngī·ji-*. The only reasonable explanation offered is that the expression is in allusion to the sweaty (*gū·mar-*), or rain-like (*gūm-*) appearance of the novice when the melted fat or honey has been poured and smeared over his person.

881 177 262 8. Lengthened intercourse with the alien population in their midst has naturally led to their occasionally betraying some indifference in regard to customs, such as that above described; especially is this the case with those who have been brought up in the orphanage at Ross Island. A few years ago one of these youngsters, who had been named Martin, refused to accede to the wishes of his friends in the jungle home to which he had returned, and persisted in partaking of the articles of food proscribed to all of his age; as he happened shortly after to fall sick and die, they were fully persuaded that he had incurred his fate by failing to comply with the ancient rites and ceremonies as handed down by their fathers.

881 262 9. On the conclusion of the *yâ·dī-gū·mul-*, the youth is said to be an *â·kà·gū·mul-*, and, as before stated, is addressed as *gū·ma;* but this is not the case with the girl, possibly because she, at

[1] *Vide post* "Mythology," paragraph 23.
[2] *Vide* Appendix B, item 25.
[3] *Vide* Appendix B, item 79.

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Agriculture.—1. Before the arrival of strangers in their midst 241 the Andamanese were entirely ignorant of agriculture, and to this circumstance is primarily to be attributed their degraded condition, while it also affords evidence of the same.

2. Notwithstanding the ample opportunities that they have now had of observing the benefits derived from cultivation, and though they undoubtedly prefer such products to the spontaneous vegetation of their jungles, they still consider that the exertion necessary to obtain the former far outweighs every advantage; in short, it is their opinion, that "*le jeu ne vaut pas la chandelle.*"

3. We must not, however, lose sight of the fact that as they have hitherto seen only prisoners engaged in tillage, they cannot but be strengthened in the objections entertained by most savages to all such labour, regarding it as a degrading occupation, and fit only for such as have forfeited their freedom.

4. Further, to quote from Peschel, "it must be remembered that hunting affords supreme enjoyment, and that agriculture has nothing to offer in compensation for the excitement and delights of the chase."

Training and Domestication of Animals.—1. Prior also to our 231 occupation of these islands, the Andamanese, as will have been 177 already inferred,[1] possessed no dogs, and it was some time (1865) before they became aware of their usefulness in the chase; but now that the intelligence of certain breeds has been proved, they prize them highly, and eagerly accept any we have to give them; at the same time, though treated with every intentional kindness, and allowed to sleep, and even to eat and drink out of the same vessel as their masters, the training to which the dogs are subjected is very severe, and their attenuated condition bears witness to the state of semi-starvation in which they are commonly kept in order to render them the more keen in hunting. The custom of summoning dogs by whistling has of course been borrowed from ourselves, as is also the practice of [552] naming them; "Jack" or "Billy"[2] are the names generally bestowed by these people upon their canine companions, whom also they address as *ligrala* (children), and who in their turn seem greatly attached to their new owners, and testify their affection by attacking all strangers, not being aborigines, who approach the encampment to which they belong.

2. It is regarded as a good omen to meet certain birds, while 787 of others the contrary belief is held;[3] the absence of migratory

[1] *Vide ante* "Trade, Exchangeable Values, &c.," paragraph 3.

[2] They sometimes nickname them as follows:—*bī·bi-bá·ratnga-* (lit., dog-mottled), *bī·bi-ngâ·nanga-* (lit., dog-beggar), *bī·bi-tá-tū·panga-* (lit., dog-bone-crusher), *bī·bi-tá-tē·ràwa-* (lit., dog-yellow), *i.e.*, according to any peculiarity that may distinguish them.

[3] *Vide ante* "Superstitions," paragraph 22.

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The only other weapon in use is the pig-spear (*ērdūtnga-*[1]), which is of comparatively recent introduction, its adoption being due to the abundance of iron obtainable for some time past by the *.bōjig-ngīji-* and other tribes near our settlement at Port Blair.

411 [177]

6. To an untrained eye no difference is noticeable in the appearance of the weapons of similar style and construction, but the aborigines are quick in detecting individual peculiarities in the manner of knotting the strings of bows, arrows, &c.[2]

7. As has been remarked by General Pitt Rivers,[3] the bows of the Great Andaman tribes, especially those of the southern half, known to the islanders as the *.bōjig kā'rama-*, resemble those in use in Mallicollo, one of the New Hebrides, and in New Ireland, being of a "peculiar flattened S-shaped form, curved towards the firer in the upper part as held in the hand, and to a slight extent the reverse way at the bottom."[4]

8. Except in the case of boys living on or near the coast, whose toy bows are often made of the *Rhizophora conjugata*, the wood of the mangrove is rarely, if ever, used, and the bamboo *never*,[5] for they find that certain other trees,[6] are more suitable for their purpose.

[824]

9. No whalebone or sinews are used for the purpose of imparting additional elasticity to the bow, and no evidence is forthcoming to show that they ever applied poison to their arrow or spear-heads—in fact, the only poison known to them appears to be the *Nux vomica*, and this they merely avoid as a noxious or useless plant.

[824]

10. It is true that certain passages in Dr. Mouat's book[7] convey a contrary impression, for, from the observations made during his short trip round the islands, he seems to have entertained no doubt that these savages habitually applied poison to their arrow-heads;[8] but, in the sense in which I understand his

[1] *Vide* Appendix B, item 9.

[2] For an example of this *vide ante* "Communications," &c., paragraph 6 (footnote).

[3] *Vide* Journ. Anthrop. Inst., vol. vii, p. 440.

[4] In the ethnographical department of the museum at Maidstone, I have lately observed a bow from Banks Island (New Hebrides), which bears a striking resemblance to the commonest form of the peculiar *.bōjig* bow, for sketch of which see Plates II and VI.

[5] "Their weapons are bows and lances of iron-wood. The former are bamboo. . . ." (Grant vol. ii., p. 378.) [Their spears, at least those of Great Andaman, have never yet been seen by us made of iron-wood.—E. H. M.]

[6] *Vide* Appendix B, item 1.

[7] Pp. 324 and 339.

[8] It may be of interest to mention in this place a curious alleged fact which has been brought to my notice by the petty officers and others connected with the homes, *i.e.*, that the wounds which are inflicted now-a-days by the iron-headed arrows of the Andamanese are not so painful or so liable to fester as they were formerly, and this they attribute to the fact that, while it has always been the practice of these savages when sharpening their blades to

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411 [177] 22. It is not found that they have any inclination to adopt civilised weapons or tools in lieu of their own, but they have not been slow to avail themselves of the facilities afforded them in recent years for substituting iron for shell, bone, and (?) stone,[1] in the manufacture of their various implements.

23. The blow-pipe, which is used so generally by the Negritos (*Semangs*) of the Malayan peninsula, finds no place among the weapons of these savages. Its absence may be readily accounted for, firstly by their ignorance of poison, or at least of any method of utilising such knowledge as any of them may possess, and secondly by the fact that they are so well able to supply all their wants with the implements already referred to in the foregoing, that their inventive faculty has not been sharpened by the pangs of hunger to devise other or more effective means of destruction. It may be added that slings, throwing sticks, clubs, bird-bolts, or blunt-headed arrows for stunning animals or birds, are likewise not in use among them.

[224] 24. Although the pig is the object of their chase in their hunting expeditions, they invariably take a few of their pointed arrows, preferably the *tó·lbō·d-*, on the chance of coming across some smaller game, such as an iguana or paradoxurus.[2] To facilitate rapid shooting a man will often hold a number of arrows in the hand which grasps the bow.

[225] 25. From constant practice they are, as might be supposed, very skilful at shooting fish under water. Dr. Brander has correctly observed that "they seem intuitively to have calculated with great accuracy the difference of direction to be allowed for oblique aqueous refraction;" but these shots are almost always, if not invariably, made at a distance of a few yards only, and never so far as "30 yards,"[3] or "with three-pronged barbed arrows," such missiles being neither made nor used, at least by any of the Great Andaman tribes.[4]

883 224 26. Boys soon learn to practice at near objects with the small bows and arrows to which allusion has already been made, and many of them often contribute materially to the family larder by their early prowess. It is a common sight to see youths and children (and even their elders), when travelling, wantonly shoot at small passing objects, both on land and in the water, by way

[1] *Vide* Journ. Anthrop. Inst., vol. xi, p. 271.

[2] While these two animals are killed at all seasons of the year, the pig-hunts take place chiefly during the rains, when this animal is in excellent condition, and their diet, owing to the comparative scarcity of fruit and honey, less varied; even if with young the pig is not spared.

[3] The well-nigh impossibility of ever seeing from the shore or from a canoe a fish swimming at such a distance would sufficiently account for this.

[4] It is possible that Dr. Brander saw the *single* specimen of an arrow answering to this description which was obtained in 1880 from North Sentinel Island.

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And now, though there is, I feel, much more that might with advantage be recorded regarding this interesting race, I must bring these memoirs to a conclusion; but in doing so would mention as evidence of the results of our training that several Andamanese lads have been taught to wait at table, and prove both useful and handy at such duties, behaving with most becoming gravity, as if, indeed, they had been to the manner born! It is a somewhat absurd sight to see these jet-black imps dressed in white, with arms crossed and head thrown back, standing like statues behind their masters' chairs, watchful to fulfil any service required; as soon, however, as the meal is over, the white garment is replaced by a jacket, or, in *puris naturalibus*, the well-trained servant is transformed into a romping *gamin*, ready for any fun or frolic that may offer, and entering into it apparently with the full conviction that he deserves and has earned such relaxation by his exemplary conduct as a table servant. When a dance has been given in the settlement it has been amusing to watch them in the balconies endeavouring to vie with their masters' performances in valse, polka, and galop: I have seen them, after taking note of the step, select their partners (all boys) and set to work, thinking evidently that it is part of the sport for each couple to cannon against another!

But though the Andamanese can thus in a measure enter into and enjoy civilized employments and amusements, the instincts of savage life, with its unrestrained freedom of action, generally prove in the end too strong for them, and they are carried, by an apparently irresistible impulse, back to their jungle homes, where they resume their aboriginal customs and habits, thus verifying the old Horatian maxim—

"*Naturam expellas furcâ tamen usque recurret.*"

164 Going a little further into detail, it has been noticed that malarial fevers are commonest in June, at the commencement of the monsoon and during heavy bursts of rain thereafter. Malarial fevers commence as usual in their intermittent form and prove fatal as remittent fever. Other zymotic fevers are uncommon, though the Andamanese will drink the filthiest water.

A short rainfall in the Andamans is usually accompanied by high dry winds and then is the high time of the chest diseases. But though the Andamanese are susceptible to bronchial catarrh, and though chronic bronchitis is common, it is not fatal; pneumonia is however extremely fatal. Pleurisy, hæmoptysis and phthisis are comparatively rare.

Abdominal diseases, though comparatively uncommon, are very fatal, diarrhœa, including probably dysentery, claiming most victims. Dyspepsia and colic are both common. In health the stools are regular, but inclined to looseness. They have been likened to those of the lower mammals when in good health.

Of other diseases sunstroke is dreaded and always fatal. The brain and spinal cord are not often affected, though curvature of the spine is occasionally [146] seen. Scurvy occurs at the seasons when vegetable diet, *i.e.*, such as fruits and roots afford, is too scanty. Elephantiasis occurs among the Onges, but is limited to the Little Andaman. Chronic muscular rheumatism occurs among the older people, leading to loss and withering of limbs. Ulcers, generally the result of wounds in the jungles, are common and, as with the immigrants, slow to heal. Abscesses are also common. Considering that personal uncleanliness is often extreme, skin diseases are curiously infrequent, except ringworm and exfoliated dermatitis, sometimes leading to destruction of finger and toe nails, due either to scurvy or exposure.

164 Excluding malaria, endemic disease has not been recognised among the Andamanese, and the only epidemics that have been known to attack them are 177 imported pneumonia (1868), syphilis (1876), measles (1877), and influenza (1892), in that order: unhappily with disastrous effect. Exposure to the sun and wind in the cleared spaces, the excessive use of tobacco and over-clothing, as results of contact with civilisation, are also said to have undermined their health as a body of human beings. Intoxicants are forbidden to them by local rules and are not easily or commonly procured by them.

755 **Medicine.**—The diseases which the Andamanese distinguish by name are 758 malarial fever, catarrh, coughs and rheumatism. Phthisis and heart disease are recognised, but are spirit caused and so are all internal maladies, which of course are not understood.

Medicine and surgery are almost absent from the Andamanese purview. They will bleed on the forehead for fever and headache and round abscesses to alleviate pain. They scarify for rheumatism and internal pain as a last resort. Red ochre and various herbal concoctions are both swallowed and applied as all-healers, in which they have great faith. Certain leaves are sometimes applied to local affections and beds made of them for the sake of their supposed medicinal odour. Cinctures, sometimes of human bones, are used to alleviate pain, but no other charms are employed. Occasionally the diet is slightly changed to relieve illness and they are quick to avail themselves of the hospital provided for them. They are extremely afraid of European surgery and will tremble violently at the sight of the operating knife. They smear themselves with white clay and water against the heat of the sun and with red ochre and oil after dark as a protection against cold.

The sick are sympathetically and very kindly, but superstitiously, treated. [844] There are no pregnancy customs and those at childbirth are sensible and without superstition, difficult delivery being practically unknown.

Snakebite is uncommon and seldom fatal. Ligatures above the bite and scarifying are applied, both operations showing observation and common sense. Bites of centipedes, scorpions, leeches and ticks cause little inconvenience to the Andamanese, though very much to immigrants.

142 **Appearance.**—The figures of the men are muscular and well formed and generally pleasing; often a young man is distinctly good looking, for, though there is a tendency to prognathism, it is not commonly pronounced, while a straight and well formed nose and jaw, accompanied by superior intelligence

765 neck, usually, but not always, by the widow, widower or nearest relative. Mourning closes with a ceremonial dance and the removal of the clay. The ceremonies connected with the disposal of the dead are conventional, reverential and by no means without elaboration in detail.

V. Arts.

324 **Stone Implements.**—The only stone cutting implement known to the Andamanese is the quartz flake chipped off, never worked, and held between the fingers for shaving and tattooing, and shells and fish bones are used for the small blades of the peculiar adze of this people, and for arrow points, scraping and cutting. A *cyrena* valve is the ordinary knife and scraper. Hammers, anvils, hones, and oven-stones consist of natural stones. They have never made celts.

• 177 The ends of glass bottles for some years, and iron from wrecks for a long time past, have been substituted for the indigenous implements, when and where procurable. The object of the long series of murderous raids made by the inland Jarawas on the outlying parts of the Penal Settlement has now been proved to have been made in search for iron. The implements on the whole are coarsely and roughly made.

411 **Weapons.**—The weapons of the Andamanese are bow and arrow, harpoon, fish spear, pig spear, and they have never had any notion of poisoning the blades, which however sometimes inflict dangerous septic wounds from dirt, though as a rule they are kept bright as a matter of pride. Barbed arrows and harpoons with loose heads are used for catching and pulling up game in the jungles and marking where turtle or large fish are sinking.

Domestic Arts.—Excellent information with illustrations on the domestic and other arts of the Andamanese is to be found in a minutely accurate work, Man's *Aboriginal Inhabitants of the Andaman Islands.*

283 **String and Netting.**—String for nets and all purposes is twisted, often neatly, from the inner bark of creepers. Large nets of this string are made for driving turtle and hand-nets for prawns and small fish and for wallets. Stout cord is made from the inner bark of the *melochia velutina.* Whole, split and scraped canes are used as binders.

285 **Weaving.**—The weaving is good, neat and stout, and baskets and mats are thus well made from strips of canes.

323 **Pottery.**—The unglazed circular clay cooking pots with rounded or pointed bottoms, to the Andamanese very valuable, are built up by hand, sun-dried and then baked, but not thoroughly, in the fire. They are often encased in basket work for safety. Their manufacture, form and ornament are typical of the Stone Age generally.

322 **Wood and Cane work.**—Buckets are hollowed out of wood or cut from the joints of the bamboo. Canoes are hollowed out of whole trunks of light, soft timber by the adze without the use of fire, do not last long and are only fair sea boats. They are however capable of holding many people and a good deal of light cargo.

301 **Ornamentation, Personal and Domestic.**—The personal ornaments made are—bunches and strips of fibres and leaves scraped, cut and hammered, fringes of dentalium shells and straw-coloured wreaths of hammered and roasted dendrobium bark. The bones, skulls and jawbones of deceased relatives are also used whole, or broken and scraped to fancy or requirement, as ornaments, besides necklaces of the bones of animals. Tattooing and painting the body are only ornamental to the extent that, in the latter case especially, deviations from the conventional designs are due to personal taste.

353 The only ornaments to dwellings and huts are the heads of turtle, pigs, iguana, paradoxurus killed in hunting. These are hung up partly as ornaments and partly as trophies, but not with any idea of record.

531 Every manufactured article has its own customary conventional line ornament in one or more of three colours and in one or more of eleven patterns approximately achieved only. The colours are red, white and brown from natural earths. The patterns are (1) chevrons, (2) close cross hatch, (3) wide cross hatch, (4) parallel lines, (5) parallels and chevrons combined, (6) lozenges, (7) plait or guilloche, (8) herring-bone, (9) cross cuts, (10) loops, (11) vandyke with scolloped bands and cross lines.

3: Temple G-5 (1901) 1903 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

APPENDIX B.

JARAWA RAIDS ON THE SETTLEMENT.

177
721

1872. Convicts robbed of tools and clothes between Aberdeen and McPherson's Strait.
1875. Four convicts killed on Kyd Island. [One convict killed and 2 captured (all runaways) at Lekerajoinga by the Beas for stealing their canoe.]
1878. Attack on Brigade Creek Andamanese Home: 1 man killed.
1880. Camp of friendly Andamanese attacked at Port Campbell.
1882. Andamanese skirmish with Jarawas at Goplakabang, but friendly signs at Kalatang.
1883. Five convicts killed at Ranguchang: 1 Jarawa woman captured.
1884. A Police Constable wounded at Maiilitilek: 1 Jarawa killed, 2 captured (1 wounded). Birds'-nest boat attacked at Ranguchang: 4 Jarawa women, 1 man (Habiyo) captured and released. Jarawa huts found in the Jarawa Khari Valley.
1885. Two convicts murdered at Ograbarnij: 2 Jarawa women captured and released.
1887. Andamanese camp at Chaual (N.-W. corner of South Andaman) attacked, 1 boy wounded.
1888. One convict killed and 1 escaped at Tusonabad and 1 killed at Mattra: 1 runaway killed: convict boat attacked at Tytler's Ghat in Port Mouat.
1889. Andamanese camp at Port Mouat attacked, 1 man wounded.
1890. Andamanese camp at Port Campbell attacked, 1 man wounded. One Jarawa child captured. Andamanese attacked at Motknnu in the Middle Strait. Three convicts attacked at Cadellganj, 1 killed, 1 wounded. Two Jarawas killed at Talalunta.
1891. One convict at Bindraban wounded.
1892. Andamanese camp at Bajajag attacked: 1 girl killed.
1893. Andamanese camp near Homfray's Strait attacked: 1 man killed, 1 wounded.
1894. An Andamanese, turtle hunting, was killed at Port Mouat.
1895. Two convicts killed at Cadellganj. Two Rutland Island Jarawas captured and released.
1896. One Jarawa wounded by an Andamanese at Bluff Island (Port Anson). Attack on Andamanese Camp at Goplakabang. Jarawa communal hut discovered at Constance Bay.
1897. One convict killed at the Tarachang Home. Jarawa village found on Torabi Hill, Port Campbell: 3 Jarawas and 1 woman wounded. Three convicts at Cadellganj killed.
1898. Ration boat in Shoal Bay attacked at Jirkatang: 1 convict and 1 police constable wounded.
1899. Jirkatang temporary convict barrack attacked: 2 convicts wounded: 1 Jarawa wounded: 1 friendly Andamanese wounded.
1901. Three convicts killed: 2 wounded at Cadellganj and Jatang.
1902. Two convicts killed at Jatang: 1 Jarawa child captured at Talalunta and 2 women, 2 children and 2 boys captured at Wibtang. Mr. Vaux killed at Wibtang.

6: Cipriani E-5 (1951-1953)1961 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

312 caracases of small animals. During the droughts, marine hermit crabs, of
271 which a profusion is found in Little Andaman even far from the sea-shore,
[196] often choose to die in fresh-water pools. They are not removed from the pools.
415 A nautilus shell is sometimes used as a drinking vessel ; failing this, the Onge
[516] lap up the water like animals, on all fours, directly from the pool. Since they are
291 very fond of dogs, man and dog drink together from the same tiny pool, often holding no more than a few pints of water. Dogs reached Great Andaman as early as 1857 ; they came to Little Andaman much later. Before that time there were no dogs in the Andamanese Archipelago. They soon became the natives' cherished and much appreciated assistants in the hunting of wild pigs. Many unhygienic habits followed the appearance of dogs in the Andamans.

271 The Onge have no idea of boiling water for the purpose of disinfection ;
[147] nevertheless their health does not appear to suffer at all as a result of the pol-
123 luted water they drink. When, in 1952, I dug a well near the left bank of Dugong Creek on the north-east coast of Little Andaman, I was compelled to fence it in so as to prevent dogs from drinking it and bathing in it.

264 Dogs lick everything that smells of food, including the cooking pots,
[291] and the pots are not washed before use after the dogs have licked them.
[136] Swarms of flies of different species and small coleoptera of a brilliant blue colour, one of them 6 mms long, follow the dogs after they have "cleaned" the pots by licking them. They line the inside of the pots with a crawling, living coat, moving restlessly around in search of food. One species of fly, which is of a brilliant, metallic green colour, has a peculiarly disagreeable smell. All the flies lay eggs while feeding, but the eggs are soon devoured by the hovering bluish coleoptera. Thus in a few hours all traces of organic matter disappear from the pots. Subsequent exposure to fire undoubtedly destroys the germs that would otherwise be certainly dangerous to human beings.

415 The Onge no longer use indigenous pottery for cooking. Its disappearance
177 is recent, as the sherds that litter Little Andaman prove to the investigator.
[323] Excavation in modern kitchen-middens leads to the same conclusion. During the last war, quantities of empty petrol drums were washed up on the Andaman shores. They were found in such numbers that the Onge have not yet used them all up : after 1952 I found several of these containers abandoned, untouched, in the jungle. The primitive inhabitants sawed each container in two cylindrical halves, thus transforming them into cooking pots. The result was that within a few years the fragile ancestral pottery of the Onge disappeared altogether. Furthermore, aluminium pots were distributed among the natives after 1952. Probably the indigenous pottery will never again reappear.

[252] Each half of a petrol drum is large enough to contain a pig, or a turtle weighing
262 150 lbs, cut into pieces. Only the flesh of these animals is consumed by the
[231] Onge ; the nourishing broth is poured out onto the ground or left in the pot to be lapped up by the dogs. The Onge believe that broth is unhealthy and avoid drinking it.

251 No matter how prodigious the catch of sardines or other fish, unobtain-
[185] able at other times of the year, no attempt is made at storing part of it in view of future shortage. The Onge are unacquainted with methods for preserv-

sedentary existence based on primitive agriculture, and abandonment of a nomad life as gatherers of wild sago and other forest products ... Although agriculture is now important, there is no doubt that the Sulungs are at heart food-gatherers and hunters, who infinitely prefer a nomadic life in the forest to the more sedentary way of life they are now taking to .... There is a good case for assuming the Sulungs to have been entirely sago-gatherers when they first came under outside domination: borne out by their own traditions that they learnt cereal cultivation from the Daflas, by the identity of technique with that tribe, and above all by their being at the present day at a stage transitional between the practice of fixed cultivation and that of food-gathering".

STONOR thought that the Sulung "are probably the only people of Mongolian stock on the Asiatic mainland who still maintain an economy based largely on food-gathering and hunting", and that "they may well be the most primitive of Mongolian tribes surviving anywhere". This is, of course, an error. Apart from the Raji of Kumaon, who are in a transitional stage to a certain extent comparable to that of the Sulung, we know the mongoloid Phi Tong Luang or Yumbri of northern Siam, who are still pure primitive food-gatherers and hunters. It is precisely their wide distribution which gives these small scattered tribes particular importance, since it sheds some light on the racial history of southern Asia and on the early cultural stages of the great mongoloid race.

STONOR estimates the number of Sulung at perhaps six or seven thousand.

CHRISTOPH VON FÜRER-HAIMENDORF, *Culture Types in Assam Himalayas*, Indian Geographical Journal, Vol. XXI, No. 2, 1946.

C. R. STONOR, *The Sulung Tribe of the Assam Himalayas*, Anthropos, Vol. XLVII, 1952, pp. 947—962.

Andaman Islands

The ten tribes of the Great Andaman group are practically extinct as a result of their contact with civilization. At the time of Dr. B. S. GUHA's visit, in 1948, only 31 persons survived. We are fortunate in having two outstanding monographs on these tribes, EDWARD HORACE MAN's *On the Aboriginal Inhabitants of the Andaman Islands*, first published in the "Journal of the Anthropological Institute" in 1882, and later as a book, and A. R. RADCLIFFE-BROWN's *The Andaman Islanders*, Cambridge, 1922 (2nd edition 1933). Yet, it should not be forgotten that MAN, although an excellent and conscientious observer, was not a trained anthropologist, and that at the time RADCLIFFE-BROWN was in the Andamans, 1906 to 1908, the native population had shrunk to a fraction of its original size,

In a recent paper Dr. N. DATTA-MAJUMDER, Director, Department of Anthropology, Government of India, writes:

"From a study of 34 Onge families contacted by us, it is found that the average size of the family is only 3.15. Thirteen families out of 34 are childless. That is, 38.2% of the married couples are sterile".

When, in 1946, proposals were made for undertaking work for the amelioration of the conditions of the inhabitants of the Andaman Islands along the same line as had been done among the Bhil and other tribes of Central India, Dr. B. S. GUHA, at that time Director of the Department of Anthropology, very reasonably observed that "the problem of the aborigines of the Andaman Islands is not the same as that of the other primitive tribes of India", and that "the need among them is not so much the spread of education and social uplift as the arrest in the decline in population which has been most alarming".

The Ongi have been in sporadic contact with the outside world for many years. They have been visiting Port Blair, particularly since some of them moved to Rutland Island on the southern tip of Great Andaman. This contact with civilization was bound to affect their material culture, as well as their whole mentality. We may again quote Dr. DATTA-MAJUMDER who says:

"As a result of this long contact the Onge have already come to appreciate a number of foreign articles, for example, tobacco leaves, tea leaves, sugar, matches, aluminium utensils and implements made of iron (especially bill-hooks and files). In order to secure these articles, they often barter away their valuable honey and shells. The afore-mentioned changes in material culture have at present touched only the fringe of Onge culture. But the demand for these articles (especially tobacco leaves and safety matches) is becoming so great that Onge culture is likely to be vitally affected in the near future".

Dr. DATTA-MAJUMDER came to the conclusion that "the hunting and food-gathering Onge culture, which had been an autonomous cultural system in the past, is now breaking down".

The Ongi were repeatedly visited by government officers, but the resulting information is paltry. PORTMAN spent several months among the coastal groups of Little Andaman in 1886 and 1887 and collected a few hundred words of their language. In 1901, C. BODEN KLOSS visited a group of Ongi on Rutland Island and one on Little Andaman, both only for a few hours. At some time between 1906 and 1908, A. R. RADCLIFFE-BROWN went to Little Andaman for several weeks and made a preliminary study of the Ongi language. In 1928, EGON VON EICKSTEDT spent a few weeks among the Ongi on Rutland Island and visited briefly several groups on the coast of Little Andaman for the sake of physical anthropological research.

9:Sarkar D-5 (1948) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Jarawa

123 The second trip was made on March 12th 1948. Our party included Mr. JOSEPH and Mr. POOVIAH [1], both Sub-divisional Officers of the forest department, one Burman bush police and four Andamanese with their two canoes tied behind our motor boat. We followed the same route from Long Island and, reaching Spike Island, we anchored at its northeastern corner. We came ashore in the canoes. The beach was small and rocky. Part of it was sheltered on one side by huge rocks behind which the Jarawa were known to waylay those approaching from the sea. So we landed very cautiously. Just at [501 824] the outskirts of the jungle we saw huge bundles of short bamboo lengths tied to one another and piled up in a heap. It was a Jarawa raft. Near the bamboo pile were three crude paddles split from the spadix of the palm called *Nipa fruticans*. We were all the more careful in our approach.

[361] Soon we came upon a clearing in the jungle. There was no Jarawa, but all around we saw traces of a temporary halt of a large party. We counted nineteen [342] fireplaces. At a distance from the fireplaces we saw a small temporary hut improvised out of the materials available on the spot. Two small shrubs were [622] tied together on two sides to form the roof of the hut. The Andamanese identified it to have been made for the Jarawa chief and his wife. Household objects lay scattered about. Three bamboo cylinders, closed at one end by the natural node, were found next to three of the fireplaces. They are used for carrying water. A dark coloured modern glass bottle, probably acquired during a raid, was also found. One fireplace had a small compartment enclosed by a few wooden posts a few yards off. The Andamanese identified it as an enclosure for keeping a child at a safe distance from the fire. This was probably correct as there was also a baby sling made of bark, exactly similar to that used by the Onge for carrying a baby on its mother's back (VON EICKSTEDT, 1934, fig. 211). At one corner of a fireplace the shavings of an arrowshaft or a bow were seen and nearby was a flat round pebble, one end of which was broken like that of a scraper (fig. 3). This scraper showed marks of red ochre on it. Beneath a tree a circular mat, sewn out of three pieces of long triangular palm-like leaves was spread out, while on its branches was found a beautiful specimen of an unstrung bow. It appeared to have been recently prepared and

[415 824] [412] [177] [415] [354 417 855] [854] [412] [412]

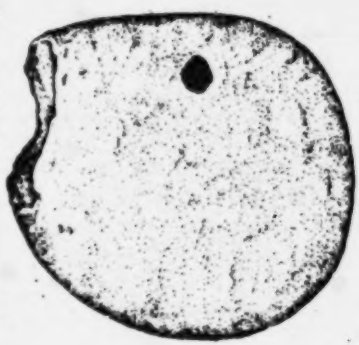

Fig. 3

[1] These two officers captured two Jarawa males, one adult and one boy, on October 19th 1948 on Spike Island. They were brought to Port Blair, wherefrom they managed to escape at night.

9:Sarkar D-5 (1948) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Jarawa

726 141

Right arm ... 2 feet 4 inches
Right index finger ... 4 inches
Right toe ... 2 inches
Length of right leg ... 2 feet 11 inches
Length of right foot ... 9 ½ inches

726 411 177 The iron blade of the arrowhead is 17 cm long and 4.9 cm broad at the base. It is mounted on a wooden shaft 86.7 cm long. The barb at the base consists of an ordinary iron nail which is bent at its sharp end and fixed with bark threads impregnated with resin. It must have been obtained from a forest camp during some raid.

726 114 According to GUPTA (1955) the above mentioned incident was not a premeditated raid. He thinks – after a careful inquiry into the above incident – that the Jarawa "came out in the open, early in the morning and walked right into the camp and did not attempt to shoot, [which] would warrant a presumption that they meant a friendly visit".

648 Since the last few years the Andaman Government has not encouraged any punitive expedition among the Jarawa. This is also evident from one of the Senior Officer's opinion quoted above. The forest workers, on the other hand, still have to face the Jarawa. They think that since no punitive action is taken against them they are gradually getting bolder. It is reported that the Jarawa beat the trunks of trees within their hearing. Consequently all these buttress beatings are immediately reported to the higher authorities and armed guards protecting the forest workers are alerted. If that is the case then the Jarawa do not attack without a warning! But who knows what they really mean? Do they want to communicate with us? Or is it a means of communication among themselves?

The Jarawa Problem

648 114 It has already been hinted at the problem of taming the Jarawa. It was one of the special aims of the Government of India to arrange a substation of its Department of Anthropology. As a result of this the present writer visited the Andaman Islands twice and was of the opinion that the substation of the Department of Anthropology should be stationed at Long Island and not at Port Blair. There were no express plans but to carry out anthropological studies of the aborigines of the various islands. It has not yet been possible to census the friendly Onge properly (SARKAR, 1960).

The primary desideratum appears to be a knowledge of the native language. As far as the present writer knows, there is no one in the various Government departments who is acquainted with the Andamanese language, not to mention the other languages spoken on the varius islands. The Onge

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[4] A Jarawa vocabulary was collected from the captive pregnant Jarawa woman by Mrs. CHENGAPPA and Mrs. CHAUDHURI, and it has been published by the Andaman Government.

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

INTRODUCTION

A group of north-south running islands as they are, the Andaman Islands have as many as 204 small islands where the impact of civilisation and growth has been little and the human history has been one of stagnation rather than of chequered career. Being a land of aborigines, the foreign intrusion has been quite feeble though mention about these islands is found in the early records of the travellers. Though the knowledge about the islands is derived from the notes which date back to 2nd Century A.D., the contacts with the foreigners have been all the time transient and extremely feeble. Before the formation of the penal settlement, the islands have been known as an island of horror because of the presence of such tribal people who would eat up the man they encounter and as regards the wealth there has been imaginary illusion, sometimes being called as the Island of Gold. The historical record of the islands which can be built with a fair degree of precision is since the formation of the penal settlement. There has been the search for resources as well as their exploitation. However, all the attempts for finding minerals and the geological explorations have shown the possibility of the existence of some poor quality coal, copper etc. Virtually there has been a conspicuous lack of efforts for the development of the islands. The penal settlement which grew up in Port Blair did not have any considerable influence on the overall development of the islands. Nevertheless with the more intimate knowledge about the islands, the forest exploitation had increased and the land around Port Blair was cleared for agriculture. The little amount of agriculture that was started and fostered by the local-borns in and around Port Blair never expanded considerably and it remained confined to a few areas of South Andaman only. The aborigines were very much widespread and in the beginning they had exercised hostility and arrogance which had in course of time given place to a very friendly and amicable terms with some of the tribal groups i.e. the Onges and the Andamanese. The Jarawas, however, still now maintain their hostility and the attempts for bringing them under amicable terms have so long proved futile.

Nothing more deserves a special note in the islands than the aboriginal population. Because of the insular nature of the islands, the aboriginal population is considered to be one of the purest type though the foreign intrusion has brought about an extremely rapid impoverishment and decay only during the last few decades of contact with these aborigines.

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

161 177 182 Of the two main groups of aborigines, the Great Andaman Group and the Little Andaman Group, the former being the most widespread and numerous in the Great Andamans has become completely non-existent depicting the example of the decay within an extremely short time, especially since the impact of the foreign people. The fate of the later group is also quite shattering—the Jarawas have experienced both numerical decay and territorial shrinkage and the Onges are the only tribes who live exclusively in the Little Andaman but they have been also facing the signs of decay.

133 A glance at the map of the Andaman islands and adjacent countries shows the continuity of these islands with the Arakan Yoma of Burma in the north and with the Indonesian islands in the south. The islands of both the Andaman and Nicobar groups are primarily of sedimentary formations of the Eccene period with occasional igneous intrusions. Later formations of coral are also quite widespread. The surface topography of the regions is typically flat-topped being typical of the sandstone regions and the peaks are in most cases formed of igneous intrusions. The islands are comprised of a number of longitudinal ranges running from the north to the south and in between the ranges short streams flow. The heights of the hills are generally 1000′ and never exceed 2500′.

132 The islands experience a high annual temperature and the yearly rainfall is as high as 130 inches in Port Blair and the amount decreases as one moves to the north and the east. The ameliorating influence of the sea is quite appreciable.

131 With an area of 2508 square miles and the number of islands being as many as 204, only 4 main islands, North Andaman (490.20 sq miles), Middle Andaman (561.00 sq miles), South Andaman (359.51 sq miles) and Little Andaman (289.90 sq miles) have an area of more than 100 sq miles and the rest are sufficiently small in size either to command human settlement or economic activity.

101 The economy of the tribal people is of the primitive form of hunting and collecting though the precise modes of living vary to some extent depending upon the nature of environment under which they have to live. The knowledge of distribution and of actual number of these aborigines is far from accurate. The Andamanese were the most widespread in all parts of the Great Andamans and in the South Andaman they (Aka bea) had to remain vigilant against the possible attacks and territorial expansion of the Jarawas. The Andamanese, as said earlier, have completely died out. The Jarawas, though have dwindled to a negligible number,

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

Island				*Area*
Havelock and 6 other islands in the Ritchie's Archipelago Group	...	...	...	94.20
Rutland and 3 other islands in the South Andaman group of islands	...	...	...	73.86
Tarmughli and 4 other islands in the Labyrnth island	...	...	...	12.20
Little Andaman	...	...	...	289.90
166 other islands	...	...	...	430.97

But regarding the above statistics, Sri H. R. Shivdasani, I.C.S. writes as follows:—

'Obviously the area of 430.97 square miles for the other small islands is incorrect and far too much. It gives an average area of 2 square miles per island in which case they deserve individual mention when other islands of less than 1 square mile in area have come to special notice. Forest officers themselves admit that these 166 small islands cannot have a total area of 1430.97 square miles. We may assume that the information of the Punjab Delegation[1] is correct. Even so it would seem that if out of the other islands (735 square miles) we exclude Baratang, 90 square miles, and Little Andaman 290 square miles, there will be 200 small islands with a total area of 335 square miles'.[2]

The Andamans lie 590 miles from the Hooghly mouth, 120 miles from Cape Negrais of Burma and 340 miles from the northern extremity of Sumatra. In spite of the very close situation of the islands to the crowded countries like the mainland of India, Burma and the Indonesian countries, the contact has been quite feeble.

1 The Punjab Delegation went to the Andamans to explore the possibility of colonisation in the islands.

2 Shivdasani was sent to the Andamans with a party by the Government of India to study the aspect of colonisation in the islands in the year 1949.

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Negritos

Sri Gupta, in conclusion, has been tempted to emphasise with firm conviction that the Andamanese are, therefore, very probably a remnant of the dwellers on the marshes of Bengal and the uplands of Santhal Paragana or the dense forests of Burma and Malaya. 174

As regards the native appellations and phonetic similarity, such apparent similarity is possibly evidenced in many groups separated from each other by long distances. Similarly, the diet of raw meat and fish is and was common to all hunting and collecting tribes of the world. Independent evolution of many tribes has been akin to each other and therefore, the further geological studies and studies in anthropology can only confirm the idea.

Since the arrival of the Andamanese in the islands, a gradual separation has taken place among the different branches of population who had moved to different parts of the islands. The micro-environment has exerted considerable influence in moulding these people ultimately giving birth to a number of sub-groups. However, the broad generalisations are their hunting and collecting economy, complete ignorance about the domestication of the plants and the animals, except the Onges who have learnt only for the last 30 years the domestication of dogs. Family is the smallest social unit and a few families constitute the communal hut. Each tribal sub-group has its hunting territory, within which it maintains a more or less nomadic life till they return to the main settlement where they have a communal hut. 105 174 [592] [423]

The doctrine of the environmental determinism exemplifies itself in the adaptation of the aborigines to the local environment. In their life, they never look beyond their local geography and the materials for houses, the food, the ornaments and every thing that they are in need of, are collected from the small territory in which a community lives. So the obvious conclusion may be drawn that the coastal tribes are dependent on fishing, turtle hunting and gathering of shells and oysters and the interior tribes on hunting. This type of primitive economy, based on hunting and collecting, cannot support more than two to four persons per square mile as against more than 300 per square mile in agricultural lands and again the density varies to a great extent according to the type of agriculture practised e.g., rice-growing regions support the maximum density of population. In spite of their all-round self-sufficiency they have some connections with the later settlers. For the want of iron, tobacoo, distilled liquor, opium etc., these aborigines (jarawas) either make periodic raids on the settlements (Onges and Andamanese) or have established friendly relations with the settlers. The necessity 105 105 177 439

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Negritos

105 177 439 of all these things, locally not available, was felt by the aborigines only due to their slight contact with the later settlers.

However, a broad two-fold division of the aboriginal population can be made.

101 174,

1. Aborigines of the Great Andaman Group — All the aborigines of the Great Andamans with the exception of the Jarawas, the most hostile aborigines living in the southwestern part of the Andamans.

2. Aborigines of the Little Andaman Group — the Onges of the Little Andaman, the Jarawas of the South Andaman & the Sentinelese of the North Sentinel island.

As to how these two groups came into being and their areas of distribution, various theories have been put forward. Long after the attainment of the individual traits of these two groups, a continuous northward movement of the aborigines from the Little Andaman was in vogue and one such party had arrived in the Great Andamans who have been lately known as the Jarawas, who were all along subjected to pressure of the local natives belonging to the Great Andaman Group, the *Aka bea* of South Andaman. The very development of the hostility of the Jarawas and their complete seclusion from the other aboriginal groups owe to their being continuously subjected to the adversities. B. V. Eickstedt[1] has been of the opinion that the aborigines of the Andamans entered into the Great Andamans in two groups—the earlier group comprises the Onge, Jarawas and the Sentinelese while to the later group belong the ancestors of the Great Andaman Group. The passage of the Great Andaman Group has led to a constant southward push of the earlier group which has ultimately led to their habitation in the islands of the south i.e., the Little Andaman, Rutland Island and a part of the South Andaman. Cipriani has been emphatic enough in justifying the views of Brown that the Jarawas reached the Great Andamans from the south. Though they are supposed to have come from the Great Andamans by canoes, the art of constructing canoes and of using them have been completely forgotten and Cipriani believes that such instances of the loss of knowledge of the construction of canoes and their uses are many. A list of the names of the camps, given by Cipriani in the 1951 census, dating back to antiquity and having a good supply of drinking water and of

101 174 182 501

[113]

1 Eickstedt, B. V — Die Negrito der Andaman (Anthro Anz).

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Negaitos

food lie in a chain running from north to south along the islands between Little and Great Andamans. This has been one of the most convincing proofs of the movement of the aborigines from the south to the north. Cipriani writes, 'All these organisations, with geographical names, camps, places for water and food, indicate an ancient navigating experience moving from the south to the north. About a century and half ago the Jarawas are said to have still been in possession of canoes and the same is said of the savage inhabitants of the North Sentinel Island less than 50 years ago. In a surprisingly short period the technique of making canoes seems to have been completely forgotten as a result of the difficulties of using them.'[2]

THE ABORIGINES OF THE GREAT ANDAMAN GROUP

Andamanese, as they are called, were the most widespread and the largest in number. They had split up ultimately into a few sub-groups from the north to the south. The different groups are *Aka-kora, Aka-boa, Aka-jeru and Aka-bea.* There has been a deplorable decline in the number of these aborigines who in the bygone ages exceeded all other groups in number. At present the number is only 23, a considerable reduction from the number 625 only in the beginning of the 20th century. Though the present importance of the Andamanese because of the extremely poor number is far from significant, they are of no small interest for the study of the anthropologist, especially the impact of these people with the later settlers.

The consequences of the impact of the outsiders on the Andamanese have been far from satisfactory. With the formation of the penal colony, the aborigines continued to develop feud and on the 14th of May, 1959 a clash between the aborigines and the Govt. occurred which is known as the Battle of Aberdeen. Aberdeen is at the heart of the town of Port Blair. Efforts of pacifying these aborigines were made and for bringing them into closer terms of amity, the 'Andamanese Home' was started in 1863 by Rev. H. Corbyn Chaplain. They were employed for working with the convicts taught to speak English and wear clothes. The consequence of such an impact has been alarmingly devastating because of the infiltration of a number of vices and diseases which only paved the way for their impoverishment and decay (For further particulars see demographic characteristics).

2 Cipriani, L— On the origin of the Andamanese, Andaman & Nicobar Islands, Census of India, 1951.

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Negritos

105 For the fact that the Andamanese inhabits the coastal areas of the
177 Andamans, the fishing is an well-known art to them. The pristine cul-
182 ture is virtually lost and the few who are still now surviving have been brought under the folds of government help. Still now the headmen
225 of the Andamanese in the Middle Andaman, *Loka* is found doing turtle
481 hunting in their canoes and climbing up the coconut trees without the help of any rope. Still now they are found dancing in groups but they are few and far between. All of them wear clothes and live in the huts made by the Forest Department.

THE ABORIGINES OF THE LITTLE ANDAMAN GROUP.

101 The Onges, the Jarawas and the Sentinelese belong to this group.

The Jarawas

177 Of all these three groups, the Jarawas only live in the Great Anda-
648 mans and their occurrence in the Great Andamans has been explained
101 by many authorities, as has been explained earlier. The Jarawas are implacably hostile and the best of efforts to bring them under terms
181 of amity have proved furtile. Lt. Colebrook and Archibald Blair first came in contact with the Jarawas and in course of time, the Aka-beas, belonging to the Great Andaman Group, living in the South Andaman became friendly with the foreigners while the hostility of the Jarawas remained unabated. The Jarawa hostility has been always increasing and it was more so since 1921. In 1923, 37 Jarawas were shot and in 1938, a Jarawa woman and her 4 children were captured. So the chances of meeting the Jarawas have been few and far between and the great decline in their number has in all practical senses stopped the apprehension of their raids in the new settlement areas. Still now, of course a person penetrating deep into the forests of the eastern parts of South Andaman should always be on the guard against an attack from the Jarawas.

The Onges.

The Onges, having experienced the impact of the foreigners at the latest period, are at present the most widesprend of all the aborigines of the Andamans. They do not have the truculence of the Jarawas and the attempts for bringing them under closer ties and terms of amity with the foreigners have proved successful, though the essential traits of their social, cultural and material life remain unaltered.

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

The contact of the Onges with the outsiders can only be traced since the efforts of M. V. Portman[1] to establish a friendly relation with these tribes from 1886 onwards. However the earlier contacts with the Chinese and Japanese were possible because these people used to frequent the shores of Little Andaman for collecting the valuable shells and the Onges used to be engaged by them as divers and in reciprocation they were given presents of alcohol and opium. In the initial stage of the attempt for establishing a friendly relation by Portman, the Onges proved themselves hostile which was evidenced from the poor fate of the crews of a ship 'Assam Valley' when it touched the shores of Little Andaman and it was through the great efforts of the punitive expedition led by W. L. Much that the dead bodies of the crews were recovered. Later on, a few Onges, all on a sudden, arrived at Cinque Island and were captured by M. V. Portman. Only 9 of them were detained and the rest 15 were released. These few captured Onges were closely observed and studied in Port Blair by Portman and were ultimately returned back to their native land, Little Andaman. The friendly treatment and the presents that these Onges had received from Portman, paved the path of establishing friendly relations with the Onges much easier and also made the subsequent visits of the foreigners much more welcome. After Portman, a few more contacts were made with the Onges by Prof. Lapicque in March, 1893, during the operations of 1911 and 1921, undertaken by Eicsktedt, a German anthropologist, in 1827, by Dr. B. S. Guha, Ex-Director Anthropological Survey of India in 1948 and by Lidio Cipriani, an Italian anthropologist in the year 1954 and in a few succeeding years. Still the knowledge about the Onges seems to be meagre.

Living exclusively in the Little Andaman and a few of them in the Rutland Island, the Onges live in groups on a septal basis with clear-cut boundaries of hunting group for each group. There is no permanent habitation or village of the Onges in any part of the Little Andaman and their huts are of two types—(a) the permanent type of communal hut called *bera*, and (b) the temporary type of shelter called *korale*.

The abundance of food and water has made the life of the Onges comparatively easy-going. All the groups are headed by a leader and each group is assigned a fixed territory. The community life seems to be extremely democratic in character which entertains and also maintains a perfect individual freedom and only in times of necessity, advice,

1 Portman, M. V—History of one relations with the Andamanese.

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
ONG

the felling of the tree, chiselling the lumber and processing it further to give the shape of a canoe. Buckets of wood are also constructed by them from the softwood tree. Two types of baskets are made, the smaller ones are more well-finished than the bigger ones. The former is known as *tolcoaga* and the later *tole-laya*. Such activities have introduced the use of dahs, chisels, and iron files among the Onges, from the iron pieces derived from the sea shores. The other important pieces of their craftsmanship are the beautiful weavings of fibre, tussel of yellow fibre used by the women in their front. However, the art of making the earthen pots has been completely forgotten.

The leisure in their lives has helped the development of some amount of aesthetic senses among the Onges. All the Onges men and women shave their heads with flakes of glass, obtained from the sea-borne glass bottles. The body of the Onges are also painted with white clay which save their skin from insect-bite while red paint serves medicinal purposes if some individual is having fever. In times of mourning, red orchre paint is a taboo.[1]

Early marriage is the custom. The widows are looked down upon by the society. Some incidents of widow murder and drowning are heard. In the married life, the husband is devoted to his wife and both the husband and wife work for collecting their food.

Dances and songs are in vogue and there are practically songs for every occasion and activity. Most of their songs are more plaintive than joyous.

There are three broad divisions of the Onges of the Little Andaman :

(1) *Giremeka-Gobeule* group inhabiting the northeastern coast of the island ;

(2) *Engakwale group* live in the interior of the islands ; and

(3) *Gireraragobeule group* live in the southern and western coasts of the islands.

In spite of all the limitations, the Onges have been considered as one of the happiest people of the world with plenty of food and water to eat and drink and with very few social cankers to fight with. But as is common to all other aborigines of the Andamans, a decline in their number is discernible.

The Sentinelese

The Sentinelese are the least known of all the aborigines of the Anda-

1 The Onge of the Little Andaman—A short guide book ; Anthropological Gallery, Indian Museum, Calcutta.

10: Sen K-3, 4 (ca. 1955) 1962 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Negritos

101 mans. They live in the North Sentinel island and Portman had only made a few observations in the abandoned settlement of these aborigines. In 1886, Portman contacted a few Sentinelese with the help of a few [197] Onges. The affinity of the Sentinelese with the Onges have been detected but the language of the Sentinelese is different from the Onges. However, only later researches can reveal more facts about their lives.

PRESENT DAY DISTRIBUTION OF THE ABORIGINAL POPULATION

101 The islands, though remained essentially a land of the aborigines, have
161 a present day distribution which is very much discrete in nature. The
361 nature of the distribution was very likely much more widespread in different parts of the islands but the great decline in their number coupled with gradual expansion of the area of the later settlers led to a continued recession of the aborigines in the more desolate areas. Thus there has been a great shrinkage in the territory of the aborigines of the South Andaman where no settlements of any importance had developed.

[177] There are only a few Andamanese (23) who are still now surviving in the Middle and North Andamans and they live in the huts built up by the Forest Department.

The exact areas of inhabitation of the Jarawas are anybody's guess. Though the Jarawas have suffered a considerable decline in their number, no evidences of their distribution beyond the South Andaman are in view. Living under the cold patronage and hostility of the neighbours, the *Aka-beas*, a sub-group of the Andamanese, the Jarawas were always subjected to all their efforts of territorial expansion. Though their exact areas of distribution have not been traced so far, it is probable that they live in the dense forests of the South Andaman, especially in the least disturbed and unhaunted forest areas of the west. However, their biggest concentration is believed to be between Port Constance, Port Meadows and Shaol Bay.

The Sentinelese inhabit the North Sentinel Island and only further exploration in the island can furnish an idea about their exact spots of distribution.

[484] The most predominant in number are the Onges who inhabit the island of Little Andaman. However they make occasional voyages to the Rutland and Cinque Island where some of them live. The areas of distribution of the Onges in Little Andaman are mainly in the coastal areas of the northeast, south and west and also in the interior.

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Negritos

In the sample of 61 adult females, 22 women were nonfecund. As such the obvious female preponderance in the total sample is not of much value and the total picture of Onge population is rather that of decline only.' Such a decline of the fertility of the Andamanese women has already been pointed out.

Of all the aboriginal population, the Onges are to-day the most widespread and have undoubtedly a very balanced sex-ratio. As regards the fertility, there is a gradual unproductiveness amongst all the aboriginal population. The Andamanese who are on the last legs of the decay have the youngest child of more than 10 years. Nothing definite can be said about the Jarawas and the Sentinelese but they are also on the verge of their decay.

PROBLEMS OF THE ABORIGINES

Assessment of the socio-economic and cultural problems is always subjective and a true assessment is only possible through the first-hand intimate acquaintance of the aborigines. The aboriginal population of the world to-day present a very gloomy picture of stagnation or decay and the aboriginal population of the Andamans are undoubtedly sharing this dismal fate of decay.

Only after the impact of the people having better material attainments the problems of the aborigines have been aggravated that paved the path of total ruination of their socio-economic traits and also initiated their gradual numerical decay. Such evidences of decay only in the last few centuries are within view in the case of the American Indians which formerly having 268 groups have dwindled to only 67 groups now surviving when the rest have been wiped out. The case of the aboriginal population of Australia, Tasmania, Malanesian Islands and the others of southeast Asia present such a gloomy picture. The causes of such a decline have been attributed to the incorporation of vices and such social poisons as alcohol and opium, attack of venereal diseases, quick adoption of foreign customs and modes of life which have been proved incongenial in their own environmental context and also to the gradual 'loss of interest in life.' This loss of interest in life, according to Rivers[1] takes away from the people the desire to live and to shoulder the burden of life, with the result that mortality incidence goes high and the more obvious causes of mortality like new diseases, the social poisons etc, tend to have greater potency for

1 Rivers, W. H. R—Essays on the depopulation of Malanesia (Ed). 1922.

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161 177 evil and are allowed to work such ravages upon life and health of people whose resistance level has already gone quite low.[2] Such a loss of interest in life is common to many of the aboriginal population. The aboriginal population of the Andamans have also been victimised to it and only in one century the aborigines of the Great Andaman Group have almost been wiped out and the Jarawas, in spite of their isolation, have been undergoing considerable decay. The Onges are also suffering, from stagnation and decay. There has been the addiction to some of the social poisons e.g. tobacco, alcohol, etc.

The causes of decay of the aboriginal population of the Andamans may be summed up as being the followings:

1. Diseases;

2. Murder of the aborigines by the later settlers, especially the bombardment of the Japanese in the Jarawa infested areas have resulted in a virtual decline of the tribe;

3. Little productive capacity of the aboriginal women.

The sex-ratio in the case of the Onges is quite balanced and therefore, the sex-ratio is not a factor for the decline of the aboriginal population but very little productive capacity of the aboliginal population is undoubtedly a major factor of their decline and it has already been discussed.

178 As regards the material life, however satisfied the aboriginal population may be with their poor lot, it is in most primitive form and the only materials that they have in possession are for earning their livelihood. Cultural aspect is also desiccated with a dearth of richness. No evolution has, however, been observed for deriving much more material comforts and the aborigines with their hard struggle for life hardly find any time to develop their thinking which can lead to a betterment of their cultural and material life.

THE FUTURE

185 These aboriginal population have so far shown little urge for improving their own lot and in the absence of such attempts, the chances of their 020 betterment as well as survival is a far cry. The only means of improving their lot seems to be possible through the efforts of the Government. The attempts for bringing the aborigines in a short period within the folds of an advanced economy and society have proved futile and contrary to it, the attempts of segregating the aboriginal population, as done in the

2 Nigam, R. C.—Little known tribes of the Andaman Islands—Their problems & prospects; Vol. VIII, April, 1960. No. 2.

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

have always been protected by the sea, which is almost invariably rough, and by a thick tropical forest which extends without a break over more than a thousand square kilometres, unpenetrated by outsiders and almost impenetrable.

THE ARIOTO

The decline of the Andamanese began with the first landing of foreigners on the island and is similar to that of so many other primitive peoples who have come into contact with civilization; a detailed account of their decline would be long and pitiful. In the case of the Andamanese, however, demographic influences arising thousands of years ago must also be taken into account. Cut off by circumstances into small groups and separated at random by large expanses of sea or by the impenetrable forest, they gradually developed somatic and cultural differences of the greatest scientific interest. Among other things, languages became modified to such an extent that members of different groups are unable to understand one another. The Onges, for example, who in my opinion are the nearest relations of the Jarawas, are quite unable to understand their language.

The peoples of Great Andaman were the first to encounter civilization, when from 1858 onwards the Indian Government, then in English hands, decided to institute at Port Blair a penitentiary for the many political prisoners after the famous 1857 mutiny. Subsequently the government sent over convicts serving long or life sentences. The life of the deportees was atrocious during the first few years, owing to malaria and the absence of medical supplies. To the majority, therefore, deportation to the Andamans meant a death sentence. Even today the only large brick building in the Andamans and Nicobars is the penitentiary at Port Blair.

Before the building of the penitentiary the English had made several desultory expeditions to the Andamans, and even before then other foreigners had landed on the archipelago. It is known that Marco Polo, probably passing within sight of the archipelago in 1292, gave it the name of Angaman, and declared the inhabitants to be ferocious cannibals with dogs' heads. As a result, even the Asian pirates were for centuries afraid to land on the islands. The barbarous forays of Arab slave traders later awoke in the islanders

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Arioto

a furious aversion to foreigners. This hatred has been rekindled during the last hundred years by a number of unfortunate incidents, but at one time the islanders were favourably disposed towards seafarers passing by, if we are to believe Niccolo dei Conti and Cesare Federici, fleeting visitors to the islands in 1440 and 1569. They both wrote of the peaceful native canoes that approached their ships, and this is confirmed by other travellers, like the Italians Fra Odorico da Pordenone in 1332 and Giovan Francesco Gemelli Caresi in 1709.

Violent clashes with the coastal tribes only became frequent when the English began to take an interest in the Andamans as a possible penal colony. The first prisoners to be sent there were some Indians, in 1788. In 1796 the colony was abolished owing to the swift death of nearly all the prisoners from tropical diseases. The attempt was repeated in 1858 after a mission entrusted to F. Mouat, and this time the seeds of decline for the islanders were sown. Efforts were begun to approach the coastal peoples, and even, strangely enough, those of the forests, the now ferocious Jarawas. Some of these tentative overtures were well received, but once the islanders came to think they had been betrayed it was enough to rekindle the hatred of strangers which they have retained ever since.

The evidence obtainable from archaeological excavations shows that for thousands of years the people encountered by the English in the coastal areas were the sole inhabitants of Great Andaman, living by fishing rather than by hunting or cultivation in the forests. The Jarawas arrived later. Migration from Little Andaman, imposed in relatively recent times by lack of food, brought them to Great Andaman. Since the entire coastal region was already occupied, the new arrivals took refuge in the forests of the hinterland. There they were happy, for they found an abundance of wild honey and fruit which amply fulfilled their needs. A spontaneous equilibrium was established between the coast-people and the forest-people, and both prospered.

The arrival of an appreciable number of foreigners in 1858 immediately changed the situation. The peoples of the coast, who were the most anxious to make friends with the strangers, paid for this fatal error with virtual extermination. When the foreigners had definitely established themselves, the coastal Andamanese – *Arioto*

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Arioto

in the local language, as opposed to the people of the interior, the *Jiremtaga* – appear to have numbered between six and eight thousand. Over the years their place has been taken by more than thirteen thousand foreigners, most of whom were deportees, enjoying relative liberty as servants of government officials, farmers and foresters. The settlers, voluntarily or involuntarily, introduced the islanders to alcohol and tobacco, forcing them to turn to the foreigners in order to satisfy their craving. In the famous and extremely frank work of the English explorer M. V. Portman (*A History of our Relations with the Andamanese*, Calcutta, 1899) official letters are reproduced which give precise instructions in the matter to government officials. The result of these instructions was to transform the Arioto into alcohol and tobacco addicts. Syphilis was passed to the native women by the deportees, and from them to their men. When, a few years after the mass importation of prisoners, the government authorities became aware of the infection among the Arioto, not one of them had escaped. The miserable twenty-three survivors of the eight to nine thousand of a century ago show the ultimate result only too well, and their final extinction is imminent.

Before the advent of the new civilization, the Arioto had divided up into at least ten distinct communities, but without any true tribal organization. They respected a form of chief, chosen by tacit consent for his personal qualities rather than by name or by birth-right; but the chiefs acted merely as paternal advisers, to be respected in times of trouble, with no illusions of authority. No one commanded, and none obeyed: all were content to follow the whim of the moment, with no conception of social obligation.

When the foreigners arrived, there were five main groups of Arioto on North Andaman, the Cari, Chede, Cora, Jeru and Tabo. Another five groups were in South Andaman, the Balawa, Bea, Bogig-iab, Joi and Col. With the numerical decline of the Arioto, who had always been endogamous within their group, a tendency arose for the survivors to merge and inter-marry, so that the twenty-three alive today are in fact the result of the mixing of the northern and southern Arioto, and of these with Indians and Burmese. The chief of these twenty-three individuals is Loca, a name in itself an indication of this ethnic mixture. Loca means 'whiskers', and he himself has a moustache, whereas pure Negritos have no body or facial hair.

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Jarawas
Onges

This was a pity, as I knew that my Indian and Burmese companions were ready to run any risk with the prudence they had already shown in Little Andaman towards the Onges. Since North Sentinel is flat and its forest not impassable, a peace mission led by men accustomed to dealing with people like the Andamanese, though it would certainly need more than a brief stay, would probably be ultimately successful.

My sole source of local information on the Jarawas was the wife of a government official, who had tended a pregnant woman and four children who were captured during one of the punitive expeditions on Bluff Island. She gave me a great deal of useful information, and indeed the greater part of our scanty ethnographical and linguistic data on the Jarawas has been obtained through her.

Until 1952 the attitude of the various groups of Onges was very similar. Along the coast, however, they had already had some contact many years ago with a limited number of outsiders. Compared with the Jarawas they have been uniquely fortunate among surviving primitive peoples in that their extremely fertile territory has remained immune from invasion. In this they have been helped by their geographical isolation as much as by their own ferocity. Indeed Little Andaman, surrounded by an ocean that frequently turns into the proverbial boiling cauldron, presents grave risks to anyone trying to land. I had considerable experience of this myself; on many occasions I nearly gave up when the boat was overturned by giant breakers. On one occasion on the south coast of the island we were flung into the sea, and the empty boat capsized and dragged me down. No one was in a position to come to my rescue, but the momentary relief of an enormous return wave enabled me to extricate myself. The previous day the breakers had crashed down one after another and smashed us against the coral reef which runs right round Little Andaman. Our baggage and provisions had disappeared, and until help arrived we were forced to remain for two gruelling days without water or food, with no protection from the sun and in constant danger of being attacked by the Onges.

During the course of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries

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Onges

The Onges do not seem to require any preventive measures, and seem naturally immune to malaria. They do, however, transmit the disease to strangers, through the mosquitoes which are everywhere in Little Andaman. Like many other inhabitants of tropical areas, they probably all carry the disease without being affected by it – neither children nor adults show any sign of splenic enlargement.

In contrast to their periodic gorging, the Onges will equally cheerfully endure hunger, thirst and exhaustion. During our hazardous canoe trip to South Brother, however, they appeared much more affected than I was by long exposure to the sun. We were completely without any means of shelter for an entire afternoon in the open sea, and though the Onges tried to cover their heads as best they could, they still developed severe (and genuine) headaches, and were clearly much happier in the dark forest, which must be considered their natural environment.

Nothing has hitherto been known of the intelligence level and general psychology of the Onges. The childishness of their behaviour, however, is curiously in keeping with their strikingly child-like appearance. Like children, they seek only the satisfaction of elementary stimuli, and like children they pass in a flash from one mood to another, so that they are a people of sudden contrasts.

One example is their passionate love for their dogs, in marked contrast to the intense cruelty with which they hunt their prey. Having once realized the usefulness of dogs, first imported into the islands some thirty years ago, the Onges now pet them like little girls with their dolls, and the Onge women will suckle the family puppies quite naturally with their own children. Yet once a dog dies the other side of the Onge nature comes to the fore and the carcase is thrown into the forest – there is no looking back.

Their minds are in a sense inventive, in that they have evolved devices to help them acquire their food, but they have never, for example, thought of the fish-hook, despite the abundance of iron pieces thrown up by shipwrecks all round the islands. Anything new is taken up with a child's momentary enthusiasm, but they have no notion of sustained mental effort such as any form of counting.

Like children, too, the Onges laugh at the slightest thing, although their mirth is always restrained. In this they differ from the African peoples, particularly the Bushmen, who are often by

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Onges

men naturally predisposed to the abnormality is enhanced by the fact that the youngest and most attractive women are invariably monopolized by the older men. So prevalent, indeed, is homosexuality that one is obliged to regard it as a biological, and not as a social or psychological abnormality. It is not, therefore, surprising to find that kissing is unknown; sexual excitement is aroused instead by nose-rubbing.

None of the Onges have any sense of modesty. This is partly the result of circumstances; privacy is impossible in the communal life of the group. This is in marked contrast to the comical dignity assumed during the last few years by the remaining Arioto women. The government authorities decreed that they should be clothed, and they immediately became so prudish that they refuse to bare so much as an arm, and they thus present a considerable problem to the anthropologist. Their menfolk, however, are clearly delighted with this sudden modesty which was to me a somewhat pathetic parody, and a further example of Andamanese childish-[1]

[1] [The remainder of this sentence has been left incomplete in the original text.--Ananta]

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and particularly of Oceania, but not with that of the Indian peninsula – a fact which is highly significant in any reconstructive study of the migration of flora and fauna to the archipelago.

The most recent phase in the spread of vegetation within the Andamans is less than a hundred years old; it began on Great Andaman, but none of the species has yet reached Little Andaman. The coconut has reached it during the last few years, but when I was there, there were not more than five wild palms in the whole island. The original coconuts must have floated from Great Andaman, or even the Nicobars. The Onges at once realized that they were edible, and called them *martele*. Now, however, there is a plantation of over five hundred trees to the north of Labanar, which I established by degrees on a number of occasions as a gift to the Onges.

The absence of any cultivated plants on Little Andaman led me to try pawpaws and bananas, as well as coconuts. In 1952 the Governor himself suggested a plant whose leaves are said to cure ringworm, so widespread among the Onges. The Onges, however, were not remotely interested, nor were they any more interested in the pawpaws and bananas. The pawpaws were left to lie on the ground and groves of young plants sprang up, far too close together, crowding the original tree and not sturdy enough to fruit. It was useless to show the Onges what to do. The bananas would have grown well, but their leaves were ripped to pieces by the storms. Possibly they would fare better in Great Andaman, where the hills would afford some shelter from the wind.

A rather different result, but equally unfortunate, followed the importation of grass seed into Great Andaman to improve grazing. The seed, imported from Europe, must have been contaminated with *Mimosa pudica*, which has spread widely, as it did in India and the rest of southern Asia, and within a few years has destroyed the grass so widely and become so much of a pest that in some areas it is doubtful whether it can be eradicated. The area round Port Blair is full of it, but for the moment Little Andaman remains free.

Culturally, the peoples of the Andamans remain today, unlike their kin in Malaysia and the Philippines, at a level almost identical with that of their ancestors thousands of years ago. They represented then, and in great measure represent today, a pure hunting and

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105 gathering society; it is extremely probable that a study of their daily life today is virtually equivalent to a study of their life as it was in ancient times.

231 241 177 So near are the Andamanese to their original state that they show no signs of ever having had any real agriculture. The Indian Government has tried in vain to induce the surviving Arioto to keep chickens by presenting them with birds and food for them; the gifts were accepted out of politeness, but there the matter ended. Among the remaining Negritos, however, particularly in the Philippines, there are noticeable signs of the awakening of some agricultural sense, even to the extent of some commerce, and regular attendance at markets. But on Little Andaman, for example, I saw in 1952 various ginger trees growing, brought there by some unknown means and at Entigheh there was also a pumpkin. In 1953 and subsequent years there were no pumpkins at all on the island, and although the gingers were still thriving they were clearly doing so by chance, without any attention from the Onges, who ate some of the small red fruit, and seemed to like the piquant flavour, but still showed no signs of wanting to perpetuate it. In several places both on the coast and inland I saw, too, clumps of the slender native bamboo, hardly planted intentionally; the ground sites of some huts now abandoned, like Bugheneh and Odadda, were covered in them. The inhabitants had apparently wanted to procure a supply of material for roofing mats, or the drying platforms used by a few groups, and so the plantations were completely stripped – and killed.

245 177 In order to plant coconut trees for the benefit of the islanders I had even to do the planting myself, so utterly ignorant were they of agricultural methods; we even had to do all the clearing of the undergrowth in a patch of forest, and prepare the ground. The Onges watched curiously but were quite uninterested. Why should they care for a tree for ten years to get its nuts when the island and seas around are teaming with food for the taking?

824 825 In their continual search for food the Onges have acquired botanical and zoological knowledge which seems almost innate, and they know of properties in plants and animals of which we are quite unaware. Nearly every day on Little Andaman I came across examples of this. I only had to draw a rough sketch of an animal and they knew at once where it could be found; it was only thanks

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twining up into the trees, and the shorter-stemmed yams, are never disturbed. The Onges merely dig down, at a respectful distance from the plant, certain of finding what they want. On no account must there be any signs of the theft for the spirit to see, so they quietly take off roots or tubers some way from the main stem and leave the rest, patting the earth down afterwards and covering the place with leaves. The guardian spirit, not, apparently, all-seeing, notices nothing, as the plant continues to flourish, improved by the root pruning. Everyone, guardian spirit and Onges alike, is happy.

This unconscious preservation may well be the result of a decree, in some remote past, by an Onge seer who realized the danger of killing off the entire plants and invented the guardian spirits as a deterrent. The Negritos still make similar use of roots and tubers; Skeet and Blagden fifty years ago referred to the Semang eating poisonous wild yams, having removed the toxic substances.[1]

It is interesting that both in the past and even today a number of peoples at a very early stage of cultural development have progressed from the gathering of the wild yams of South-East Asia to the first signs of cultivation and agriculture. It is possible that they were the first plants ever to be cultivated by primitive Man, the Negritos with their digging sticks delving then as they do now; the genus is certainly a very ancient one, and some species, such as *Dioscorea alata*, may have spread from Asia to Africa and Oceania, and even to America, with the beginning of cultivation. But this is a stage of development which the peoples of the Andaman never reached.

The digging stick, the only implement the Onges have with which to get at the roots and tubers, has in recent times been affected, though to a very limited extent by the spread of iron. Only a few individuals possess a primitive iron tool, half a metre long, cylindrical in shape and usually not more than one and a half centimetres in diameter and flattened into a form of blade at one end. The vast majority still have only the age-old stick made of hard wood, hardly recognizable as a tool and crudely fashioned into a point at one end. This tool, so primitive that it can easily be mistaken for an odd

[1] It is interesting that the American Aborigines, especially in Brazil, do the same with manioc, but I saw nothing of this nature in the Andamans.

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their hunting and fishing, or contacts with strangers, which are loudly chanted, accompanied by miming and dancing, during their nocturnal celebrations. One was sung and danced in my honour; Cendubai,[1] head of the Lulera hut, much struck by the sight of me in my hammock slung between two trees on nylon cords, delivered himself of a warning over the danger I was running using such thin cords. At the end of each 'verse' the refrain '*cuŕ-cian-ghŕgheĺbéé-chéle*' (he will hurt himself) repeated his fear of the cords breaking.

Hunting and fishing episodes are to the Onges less interesting than themes like my safety, because to them they lack the repetitive refrain. In their dances, on the other hand, they prefer something else, to us monotonous, but for them always new, and even exciting; more than anything they love to dance the stages of courtship to its culmination, with the help of words and extraordinarily (to Western eyes regrettably) vivid gestures.

Birds, to the Onges, harbour the spirits of the dead, and it is for this reason that they are never eaten, contrary to the assertions of Brown.[2] Similar fears extend to lizards, the jungle cats, bats, rats and snakes. I have confirmed this among both the Onges and the Arioto. The latter even refused to eat some fat pigeons which I offered them not knowing of the taboo; they accepted the gifts, but the pigeons were eventually eaten by my own men. And the Onges whom I took with me to Port Blair for a few days refused point blank to eat pigeon or chicken.

The spirits select the Onges' food for them, in the sense that they regard everything as edible or poisonous, according to whether the guardian spirit is benign or malevolent. Given the curious adaptability of the spirits and the intensely practical way in which they operate it is hardly surprising that their benevolence or malignity coincides remarkably well with those foods which tend to promote normal health!

[1] I was sorry to learn that Cendubai died suddenly in 1955 aged barely forty.

[2] Curiously enough, while the Onges' fears lead them to reject out of hand any food of animal origin which is unknown to them, the same does not apply to vegetable foods. They ate half-rotten fruit, which I offered them, even though they had never seen it before, and they clamoured for rice and tea, so much so that in order to prevent them becoming addicted to the rice, as so often happens when primitive peoples meet a new food, I insisted on receiving equal quantities of yams in exchange for the rice and very sweet tea, to slow down their demands.

To truly primitive peoples like the Onges, European medical practices are fascinating. Men and women will refuse literally nothing once they are convinced of our intention to do them good and cure their ills. Although they have a rudimentary form of medicine, they recognize the superiority of European methods, and medical aid has therefore become our most powerful means of making contact with uncivilized peoples.

While I was busy trying to alleviate their ailments I became aware of the power which 'medicine' has over them, and I was also able to observe their own methods of dealing with their ills. Understandably, disease, death and birth are all attributed to particular supernatural beings, or to the spirits of the dead. They try not to offend these beings, but strive nevertheless, in their own way, at least to cure disease. Once primitive peoples see our methods they respect them, and are eager to be treated; strange though it all seems, they develop a blind faith in the omnipotence of the new ways.

There is little actual disease among the Onges and they have equally few vices. They are still unaware of the existence of alcohol, and have not learned how to ferment sugar substances, such as the honey in which the Little Andaman abounds. Tobacco is a recent introduction, and the Onges at once became wildly addicted to it; the tobacco leaves I had taken with me were in fact my best means of making my way peacefully into the island. A few Onges have acquired a supply of opium from Burmese and Chinese smugglers along the north coast, but instead of smoking it they seem to limit themselves to chewing it mixed with tobacco, and have fortunately no means of replenishing their stock.

Polio, tuberculosis, smallpox and cancer seem unknown, but for some unknown reason the islands have on a number of occasions been struck by disastrous epidemics of measles. These epidemics struck nearly every member of some of the communal huts, judging from survivors' reports, and the sites were afterwards abandoned, leaving the huts to be destroyed by termites.

The census of 1931 includes a personal observation by Portman of congenital syphilis in several Onges. This has since been proved wrong and in 1952 I found only one young man with nasal malformation possibly attributable to the disease, half-moon incisors, and abnormality of the skull and palate. I was not able to find him

their fires beside them. On the night of 4–5 April 1953, while I was sleeping with them in the communal hut at Berié-Abdalù a sudden storm drenched us all, forcing us to huddle together round fires under the more waterproof parts of the roof. Numb with cold, but cheerful, they began joking, singing[1] and dancing, men and women separately; this went on all night, and no one suffered any ill effects from the soaking.

The Onge lack of hygiene extends also to their cooking utensils, which are never washed. In recent years the ocean has provided the Onges with a generous and unexpected gift; currents running from the south of Asia have thrown up on to the shores of Little Andaman a shoal of empty petrol drums, stout metal cylinders 1·3 metres high and eighty centimetres in diameter. The astute Onges have patiently divided each one in two, each section big enough to take a large pig. Set on big fires these serve as wonderful cooking pots, and the Onges are delighted with them. Unfortunately, however, although they were thrown up all round the island, the supply is beginning to dry up, and they are rapidly being eaten away by rust.

To boil food, the Onges set the drums on two large logs, laid parallel, with a fire between them. Stones are rarely used to support the drums, although there are plenty about in the interior of the island. On the coast, and for a fair way inland, there is nothing but coral, hard but liable when it gets hot to disintegrate under the heavy weight of the cylinders filled to the brim.

In these gifts from the sea the Onges could prepare tasty broths, but they invariably allow nearly all the water to boil away, and the cooking process is not considered complete until all the liquid has gone. While it is boiling, however, they take care not to lose the fat floating on the top, which they adore. They have even invented a curious sort of dipping-stick for the purpose of skimming the fat off. They take a shoot about twenty centimetres long from a plant which disintegrates into fibre when chewed. One end is chewed into a loose 'brush' and no one present misses his turn to dip it into the pot again and again to skim off a mouthful of fat, even getting up in the night in their eagerness for it. One stick naturally does for everyone, men, women and children, the

[1] The Onge voice is not markedly different from the European. It has a musical quality, fairly high-pitched but never shrill; the Onges never raise their voices, even in anger – disagreements invariably end in a dignified silence.

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and Totamaddulù, the first a day's journey into the forest from Berić-Abdalù, the second two days from Labanar, and the others both near Togalanghe.

On both Great Andaman and Little Andaman the kitchen-middens yield a vast quantity of animal remains, bones and a great number of shells, with very little earth. The shells diminish in the upper levels, to be replaced by bones of *Sus andamanensis*, the wild pig of the islands, the change coinciding with the arrival of the dog in the islands; the revolution which this introduction brought into the life of the islanders is at once evident.

My first excavations in 1951 were limited to establishing which mounds looked promising for future digs. I made soundings in the north, middle and south of Great Andaman and found that near each midden there were invariably abundant food supplies, as well as fresh water, sometimes running, sometimes in pools. The excavations went on for sixty days, aided by a first-class gang of men from Bihar, who even agreed, in view of the necessity of concentrated digging, to forgo their customary feast days. To these preliminary excavations I returned later on a number of occasions,[1] using them as controls.

My first real dig began on 5 January 1952 in a fine midden on Middle Andaman, a few hours' march from the forest station of Long Island, at a place known as Beehive Hill, or Golpahar in Hindi. The water pipe installed for the benefit of the colonists on Long Island draws from a spring, and on its way to the reservoir on the shore it runs right through the centre of the midden. Emerging, it runs for a hundred and fifty metres through a mangrove swamp stinking with vile black mud, which in fact served as an excellent means of dating the layers, by relating them to the rise and fall in the ground level of the swamp over the last few thousands of years.

The whole of the time we were there we had to work with look-outs posted ready for any Jarawas trying an ambush; to the north of the midden the grave of a Burmese killed by them a short time before was a grim warning. We did a great deal of shooting, but fortunately only for game. Fallow deer descended from imported

[1] With a number of young Indians very kindly allocated to my assistance by the anthropological service of the Government of India, and to all of whom I am greatly indebted for their enthusiastic help, often under the most trying conditions.

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remains belonged to species still extant. Some chronological assistance was given, however, by four different stratifications due to evident changes in the level of the adjacent marshes, resulting not from any general marine phenomena, but from numerous land movements. On these occasions the cliffs sank, the sea flowed inland and corals flourished, later to be buried by the black ooze and mud of the mangrove swamps.

The maximum rise in the sea-level during the growth of the midden was a little over three metres, and affected a wide area. The date could be established by a full geological study of the archipelago as a whole, but it is clear that although this and similar occurrences had direct stratigraphic effects on the middens, the results were manifest only over very long periods of time.

Refuse from introductions of European origin, such as pipes, glass bottles, shot pellets, pieces of iron, etc., appear in the top level, only fifteen centimetres thick and dating back about a hundred years. There were no dog bones either here or anywhere else on Little or Great Andaman. Recently introduced, the dog clearly caused an increase in the amount of pig remains, and a parallel reduction in shell refuse. Below the fifteen centimetres level, iron, imported pipes and glass fragments disappear, and the crab-claw pipes, still used today by the Onges, begin to emerge. The smoking habit must, as I have said, date from very ancient times, as traces of these claw pipes appear in the lowest strata, in contact with virgin soil.[1]

The actual consistency of the layers, which vary considerably, can tell us much. At Golpahar, we reached a depth of about four metres from the top of the midden through refuse mixed with only a little loose earth, very easy to penetrate. Bones, shells and other objects emerged clean, as if only recently rejected. The situation altered suddenly about one metre from the bottom, when the strata became hard and cemented with a mixture of ashes and earth. In these layers the shells were calcified by exposure to fire, and so fragile that they could only be recovered in broken pieces.

[1] It is obvious that smoking is a very ancient vice; leaves of the wild hemp are still smoked in Africa as they were long before the discovery of tobacco and claw pipes like those of the Onges are found in Eastern New Guinea, especially on the south coast, and as far as the Torres Straits and the Melville Straits. In Australia these pipes appear only in a few coastal areas in the east and north, including the Gulf of Carpentaria, and they are not found in the rest of Australia or in Polynesia.

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position by reed cords, which were to be tied in front of the snout, ending in a cord by which the skull was to be hung above the hunter's bed. No sooner said than done, and at the beginning of 1914 all the old trophies were thrown out into the forest, to be gradually replaced by the new ones. Fortunately I had collected some of the old trophies before the 'revelation'!

From the evidence of the middens it would appear that these variations in burial customs have no practical basis, and probably all derive from similar 'revelations'. Further investigations in a large series of the deposits, enabling dated comparisons to be made, would be extremely revealing.

Even allowing for these sudden alterations in established customs, it is clear that their elaboration indicates slow and hardly perceptible development over long periods of time and the middens must be dated in millennia. The hypothesis put forward by some scholars that the Andamanese are descended from negro slaves who escaped while on their way to the Portuguese colonies in India in the sixteenth or, at the earliest, fifteenth centuries, seems therefore quite untenable, in face of the abundant evidence in favour of the great antiquity of the middens and of the people who built them up.

It seems clear that during the last few thousand years, successive waves of migration have taken place over a whole area bounded on the west by the Andamans and Nicobars. All indications point to a close connection between the Andamanese and the peoples to the westward, the Negrito element remaining alone and almost untouched in the Andamans, but becoming submerged in the Nicobars into the mongoloid element of more recent origin. Even today a number of Nicobarese show signs of Negrito ancestry; short in stature, they have crinkly hair which although long is very different from the straight black hair of the mongoloid element, and their heads, noses and lips bear clear signs of Negrito ancestry.

In addition to these more general conclusions the middens also cast some light on the origin, still somewhat problematical, of the wretched Jarawas of Great Andaman. Comparisons between their middens and those of the Onges show that there were in the past communal huts on Great Andaman exactly the same as those still extant today on Little Andaman.

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been cooked in the same way; the bones are never charred, but always have the appearance of being cooked in an earth oven. The direct roasting of large game over the fire, postulated by some authorities, including Brown, was never practised; the islanders preferred to go on as they had done since time immemorial, because it was more efficient – witness the traces of the earth oven which are to be found all over the world, including Europe. In Polynesia and Micronesia, and among the pygmies of Asia and Africa, it was widely used; variations when they arose did so as the result of local circumstances, like that of throwing water on the fire instead of using fleshy leaves, when there were none in the area. But the basic principle remained the same everywhere, and the use of the earth oven coincides with the geographical distribution of hunting, gathering and burial customs similar to those found in the Andamans.

In April 1954 I excavated the midden at Tambe-e-buiè on Little Andaman, abandoned after the earth tremors of 1951, to investigate the position of the beds. The custom of burying the dead underneath their beds made it possible to trace the latter by the human remains below them, arranged in a circle round the periphery. The Onges themselves helped in the work, sometimes even trying to recognize the remains as they came to light.[1] There were clear signs of reburial. The body is buried immediately after death at least one metre deep; whereas after exhumation, cleaning and colouring, it is never re-interred more than thirty centimetres below the floor of the hut. When another death makes it necessary for a new grave to be dug under the bed, the piles of bones from the second are disturbed, so that in time a form of ossuary develops. In this it is not possible to identify the various remains of individuals unless some change in the position of the hut, even by a few metres, preserves the bones from disturbance by fresh graves. Traces of the graves always remain, however, as they are invariably filled with fresh earth.

We have already seen that on Little Andaman the introduction of the dog reduced the consumption of shellfish (and hence the rate

[1] The material recovered is now in the Anthropological Museum of the Andamans and Nicobars, which I helped to establish at Port Blair. The museum was inaugurated on 6 June 1955 in the presence of the Governor, Mr A. K. Ghosh and the chief Indian officials of the town.

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of growth of the kitchen-middens), judging by the number of shells in the deposits. On Great Andaman, on the other hand, the Jarawa was, unable to keep dogs for fear of revealing their whereabouts with the barking, continued as they had always done, and the gradual disappearance of their middens was due not to any change in eating habits but to the breakdown of the communal hut system. Among the Arioto, already decimated for over a century by fighting with the Eremtaga, the dog seems to have had no effect on the situation, as the Arioto had dogs as far back as 1857. Possibly they regarded them in the same way as the Onges who, though deeply attached to them and quite incapable of eating them at any time, never go so far as to bury their bones in the middens; the carcase is thrown out into the forests for the monitors and the termites to dispose of. It is also probable that the introduction of the dog came too late, when the Arioto were already too depleted numerically for any change in their eating habits to be appreciably reflected in their middens.

In both Great and Little Andaman the middens are found only where the communal huts have been constantly rebuilt on the same sites. Where the ground permits, the base circle (or rarely, the ellipse) has been moved somewhat from side to side, without, however, greatly affecting the regularity of the shape. At Totamaddalù on Little Andaman I was interested to see that although the diameter of the midden lessened as the numbers of the group occupying the hut dwindled, the site remained unchanged. Today the base area of the midden is very extensive compared with the size of the hut now built on it, but its anthropological value is thereby increased.

The advent of the dog into the archipelago in about 1857 vastly increased the amount of meat available to the Andamanese. Once introduced into Little Andaman[1] the dog population increased explosively, as the Onges dare not kill any of the pups; the women even go so far as to suckle motherless pups themselves. This inordinate love of dogs has allowed the animals to become a pest. They already considerably outnumber the human population; families of only three or four people may have ten or twelve dogs,

[1] The dog reached Little Andaman only at the beginning of the present century; von Eickstedt in 1928 noted that the Onges had very few of them.

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often extremely vicious but good hunters. The dogs often roam the forests in packs, hunting and devouring young pigs. The Onges will do nothing about it unless someone forces them to, but if this pack hunting is not stopped the pig will become extinct in ten or twenty years and in 1954 I tried myself (in vain) to draw the attention of the authorities to the situation.

The dog appears in even the most ancient of cultures in Australia, but did not spread to Tasmania, despite the geographical proximity. It arrived on Great Andaman with the establishment of the Indian penal colony and it is thus the Indian pariah which ultimately populated the whole archipelago. A despised outcast in India, the pariah became in the Andamans of enormous value, reverting to its ancient hunting instincts. Burmese police officials taught the islanders how to use the animal for hunting and within a few years it had revolutionized their methods. It led the islanders in fact, to comparative indolence; the dog worked for them, supplying with far less effort as much game as they used to catch in their long, weary and not always successful expeditions. Dogs meant invariable and abundant success in the hunt, and it is hardly surprising that the Andamanese came to develop a somewhat unbalanced affection for them.

On Little Andaman the dogs, with abundant food supplies always easily available, became physically far superior to their ancestors in India; unlike the pariahs they were well muscled, with good skins and coats, although most of them bear the marks of old and recent gashes by boar tusks.

On Great Andaman the dogs voluntarily catch and kill fallow deer. These, like the dogs, have increased to the extent of becoming a pest. The Arioto and Jarawas will not eat them for superstitious reasons, and so they have bred like wildfire, spreading to all the islands as far as Rutland. They swim well, but only with land in sight, and the greater distances involved have so far prevented them from spreading to Little Andaman.

Here the dogs have only one main prey – the pigs. Unlike the deer with their slender legs they cannot outdistance the dogs, and their only defence is to hide under the buttresses of the tree-trunks. The pig rushes underneath the tree, and faces the dogs like a stag at bay. There is no escape, only a few more terrible minutes of life. The pig fights the dogs off desperately, the males inflicting serious

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the arrival of the Negritos in the Andamans from the south; yet more evidence is provided by the Onge arrows. In the Andamans there are two types of arrows, those used for fish, and those for game, the latter also being used against human targets.

The same arrows are found throughout the archipelago, confirming a common origin. Only the dimensions vary from one area to another and that only very slightly; the Onges have both the biggest fishing arrows, and the biggest arrow harpoons, and the Arioto the smallest. In the past the islanders used arrows with from two to four points for fish, but I was unable to find any traces of them; those picked up on North Sentinel some years ago were possibly the last to be made.

The fishing arrow of the Andamans is made basically from the small native bamboo. The Onges remove the knots by scraping them down gradually with *Cyrena* shells, and then cut off a length varying between seventy centimetres and about one metre. Into one end they fix securely a hardwood stick, fifteen to twenty centimetres long. This foreshaft takes the head, now nearly always iron, but in the past made of wood, fish spines or pig bone. In the kitchen-middens I also found heads made out of shaped pieces of *Tridacna*. The three parts of the arrow are then bound together with very thin waxed fibres, wound carefully round and round, great care being taken to prevent the bamboo shaft splitting where the foreshaft is forced in. The completed arrow finishes up 1–1·15 metres long overall. The head is barbed, to hold the fish once it is hit; to get it out the whole arrow has to be pulled through. Sometimes, but not always, the shaft has a notch in it, to take the cord, care being taken to make the notch never more than two centimetres from any knot, to avoid any possibility of the shaft splitting. Alternatively, splits are prevented by binding waxed thread tightly round the shaft.

The hunting arrow, or arrow harpoon, is an intelligent adaptation, the result of acute observation of wild life, and is more complicated than the fishing arrow which is intended only to pierce the victim. The hunting arrow must not only score a hit, it must also prevent the animal from escaping into the undergrowth and force it to reveal its position. The harpoon holds the victim cruelly and securely, and the excruciating pain caused by the drag of the cord forces the animal to reveal its position by its cries of agony. The

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screams of a wild boar can be heard for hundreds of metres, drawing the hunters in from all sides, eager to take it alive. If it proves to be a large male, whose tusks can inflict appalling injuries, the hunters kill it at once with a spear or with a third type of arrow which has a long fixed head. This type of arrow, which does not differ greatly from those found in other parts of the world, is still used by some of the Andamanese against human enemies.

The shaft of the arrow harpoon is made preferably from *Tetranthera lancifolia*, very common all over the archipelago. The wood for the shafts has to be straight, very slender at one end, where a notch is cut half a centimetre deep to take the cord, and a little thicker at the other, which is hollowed out for about one centimetre to take the head of the weapon. Splitting of the wood at the ends is, as usual, prevented by binding the shaft with *gnetum* fibres, twisted into thread and waxed with beeswax.

The efficiency of the harpoon depends on the double-strand cord, extremely strong, made from *Hibiscus* fibres. One end is fixed on to the shaft, five centimetres from the point at which the foreshaft enters it, and the other to the foreshaft, two centimetres from the base, with a thirty-two centimetre loop of cord between the two fixings.

The harpoon blade, now made of iron, is eleven centimetres long and spear-shaped, ending in a series of barbs. The haft of the blade is bound tightly on to the short foreshaft, also eleven centimetres long, which is scraped thin at the end so that the haft can be bound on smoothly. The complete weapon mounted for use is about eighty-eight centimetres long overall in the Onges and Jarawas, and slightly shorter, about sixty-five centimetres, in the Arioto.

To prepare the harpoon for use the slack of the cord is wound firmly round the shaft, and the foreshaft with the blade attached is forced in. As the harpoon strikes, the shaft becomes detached and the victim, firmly held by the barbed arrow head, drags it along on the end of the cord until it catches in the undergrowth and holds the animal fast.

There is little difference between the arrow harpoons of Little Andaman and Great Andaman, and what difference there is affects only the dimensions, the type of cord, and the form of the barbs. The basic principle remains the same wherever it is found; all the Negritos, including the Semang and Aetà still use it, although these

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Even the unique dances enjoyed by the Onges are to be seen among the Jarawas, with the characteristic marking of the rhythm by slapping the calves against the buttocks. This does not seem to have been a feature of the Arioto dances, in which the rhythm was by the *pukuta yemnga*, a kind of convex shield made of the very hard and aromatic red wood (*Pterocarpus dalbergoides*) which the termites never seem to attack. I was able to obtain one of these shields, the last that the twenty-three surviving Arioto possessed and the only musical instrument in the islands. It is played by one man with his feet, while the dancers, male and female, form lines on each side of him a short distance away. Before use the convex face is decorated with lines of white ochre and chains of tusk shells are hung from a hole at the end opposite to the one on which the player's feet beat; from the same hole runs a cord, which he holds in his hand to prevent the instrument moving away from him as he beats. The players change from time to time as the dancers shuffle on and on for hours in the light of the resin torches. But apart from the instrument itself, the rhythmic hand-clapping and the dancers singing in unison are the same throughout the Andamans.

The women clap their hands in rhythm, and then slap one thigh with the open palm of one hand, the other hand clasping the wrist, singing all the time. The men dance in Indian file, beating the ground first with the right heel, then with the left, the toes barely raised from the ground, moving a short way forward each time. As they dance they lean forward, then with hands clasped and their fingers interlaced. There are variations, but the basic step is always the same.

One difference between the Onges and the Jarawas is that in the latter both sexes are naked, while the Onge women have in recent times adopted the *naquineghe* or apron. Complete nudity was a characteristic of all the Negritos, including the Semang and Aetà, and the Jarawa migrations probably took place before the introduction of the *naquineghe*.

The present inability of the three peoples to understand each other is more a question of pronunciation than of difference in actual words. To examine the question fully it would be necessary to collect a large number of words and analyse their affinity; meanwhile we know that despite their inability to understand each other there is a close resemblance between the language of the Jarawas and Sentinellese and that of the Onges. Strict isolation can lead to

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eyes to crack their skulls – and thrown into the small basket every woman carries on her back, hung from the usual cord round her forehead.

The fish the women catch are all the varicoloured species which always haunt the coral shallows, bright red, blue, green, black and white in a wonderful range of stripes and patterns. The Onges eat them with no respect for design, and I must confess that I myself found them very good.

Besides fish, the women catch molluscs, crustacea, lobsters, crayfish, crabs and even some species of hermit crabs (the latter are baked alive in their adopted shells, and only the abdomen is edible). Lobsters are plentiful, some striped with green and blue and weighing up to half a kilogram, with a very delicate flavour, but the Onges do not seem to be greatly interested in them. They prefer fish and crabs; *Pterocera*, again baked alive, are great favourites and I quite saw why the kitchen-middens are full of *Pterocera* shells.

The men prefer to fish with bows and arrows made specially for the purpose, and very different from those intended for game, the shaft being made of very light hollow cane, instead of the solid wood demanded by the mechanics of the game-arrow. The fishing arrow is made of three parts, bound tightly into one. The point, now made of iron,[1] is about four to five millimetres in diameter and twenty to twenty-five centimetres long. Like that of the arrow harpoon, it is fixed by a tightly bound thread to a small stick or foreshaft about fifteen to twenty centimetres long and slightly smaller in diameter than the shaft proper (usually eighty to eighty-five centimetres long), so that the overall length of the finished arrow is a hundred and ten centimetres or more. The binding threads are held fast by a mixture of resin and beeswax, coloured with ochre in the case of new arrows.

I tried giving the Onges hooks and lines; they were intrigued by my demonstration of how to leave lines overnight and draw them in next morning loaded with fish, but no more. This was not superstition or fear of the unknown but sheer adherence to established custom. They have neither incantations, amulets nor propitiating

[1] Formerly made of *Tridacna*, or very hard wood. Some of the latter are still to be found, but all the other types of head – fish quills, bone, and *Tridacna* – have disappeared long ago.

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type of canoe is the only craft seen. I saw some hauled up on the beach, identical with the ones I had seen the Onges building, even to the *Nautilus* shell as a baler. In face of this and other evidence there can be little doubt that the people of North Sentinel are descended from the Onges, possibly driven off course by some storm, and then isolated on the island.

The Arioto, copying Indian and Burmese craft, have in recent times come to modify the original canoe somewhat, deepening the gunwales and doing away with the float. The result is a craft which though it remains small is unlikely to fill with water in heavy seas. But even the Arioto prefer the single outrigger canoe for sea voyages.

The only real seafarers, however, are the Onges, who make regular hunting trips as far as Rutland. In the past they sometimes made devastating raids as far as Car, but these have died out over the past hundred years as their numbers have dwindled. There is certainly no doubt that at one time the Onges undertook considerable sea voyages in canoes the same as they build today.

The work involved in the building of these canoes is, as I have said, enormous. The preparatory work on the tree, and then the felling, are hard enough without proper equipment. I gave my Onge friends some long-handled wood-cutter's axes, to help in this part of the work. In their enthusiasm they chopped so hard they soon broke the handles and chipped some of the tempered blades, so that I had to take them to Port Blair for repair! But the real work begins with the working of the felled trunk. Then a small and very crude form of hatchet[1] has to be used, flaking off small strips like a plane; fire is never used to assist in the process. Fortunately the *Sterculia* wood usually chosen is soft.

The original shape is not touched after the required length, calculated so as to allow for the harpoon-thrower's platform at each end, has been cut. The irregularities of the trunk are left intact, so that the canoes look distorted and even ugly despite their seaworthiness. During the preliminary stage of stripping the bark great care is taken not to chip the outer ring of wood immediately below the bark; this is smooth and fine-grained, and more waterproof than the inner layers. One danger is that as the wood dries

[1] The blades used to be made from *Tridacna* shell, but in more recent times they have come to be made of iron from wrecked ships cast up on the beaches.

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Once struck by the harpoon the turtle is trapped by the cord tied to the head of the harpoon while the shaft, detached by the blow, floats on the water till it is picked up. The target is large, the distance is short, and so the harpoon never fails.

The spirits of the night do not walk on the sea, so the turtle-hunting expeditions are all sea-borne, the canoes setting out to meet the turtles as they come in towards the shore to mate. When the moon is high the tropical seas are as clear as by day; on dark nights the resin torches carried in the canoes light the sea for a fair distance. Beyond their range, the turtles as they swim disturb tiny marine creatures, which promptly emit their phosphorescence, revealing clearly to the Onges the path of their unsuspecting victim.

These torches are about one metre long and fifteen centimetres in diameter, made of twisted palm leaves tightly bound with reed fibres. Inside is a carefully balanced mixture of resin and embers, which burns with a very bright flame. In recent years a variant has been introduced – huge lumps of gum were driven on to the shores of Little Andaman from some unknown distant shipwreck, and the Onges, having discovered how well the unknown substance burned, began mixing it with the embers in their torches. I can still see the Onges' child-like pleasure as they admired the effect of their new product, a gift, like their petrol-drum cooking-pots, from the sea.

Their torches for use on land are much smaller – about thirty centimetres long and ten centimetres in diameter, but made in exactly the same way. It is interesting that similar torches are found eastwards throughout Polynesia and are used everywhere in the same way for hunting turtles and their eggs from the same type of canoe.

The victim, struck as it comes to the top to breathe, disappears at once into the sea, dragging the cord with it. In less than ten minutes, however, it reappears on the surface and is hoisted aboard, often almost helping itself into the canoe with its thrashing flippers. Quite often turtles are caught while they are asleep on the surface, or mating, in which case the pair are easily captured. And in stormy weather, when the high seas make it difficult for them to negotiate the reefs back to the open water, the Onges can catch them and 'ride' them to the shore. I have seen the surviving Arioto do this,

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been found since 1500. It is found only in the seas round Australia and Malaysia, flourishing round the Andamans, growing rarer towards Indonesia, and reaching as far as the Philippines.

Although *Nautilus* shells are very often thrown up by the sea on the shores of Little Andaman (though rarely whole, because they are so fragile), I never managed to find one alive. The creature prefers to live below thirty metres, where it can be taken with a hook and line. I distributed some to the Onges and offered them every possible inducement, but no one managed to catch a live *Nautilus*. The lovely shells are striped white and rosy pink on top, shading to a mother of pearl colour underneath, and when polished and shaped make beautiful cups or ornaments. I brought some back to Italy with me, but the best were stolen. In one collection in the Zoological Museum of the University of Florence there are some fine ones set in silver, now of considerable value.

Another shell which the Onges use is that of the huge bivalve *Tridacna*, the elephant of the mollusc world (see p. 114). For many hundreds of years they have filled these shells with water and used them as mirrors when they paint themselves. (The reflection is poor, however, and they fell enthusiastically on the mirrors I had taken with me. These they named *quietanga*, derived from their name for *Tridacna*, and followed me all over the island to get them.)

Two species of *Tridacna* are found on Little Andaman; *Tridacna gigas*, the larger, and *Tridacna squamosa*, large, but somewhat lighter in weight. Both live in relatively shallow water and are equally terrifying once they have got a hold (see p. 114). Fortunately, the Onges have learnt to surprise them when they are open and slash the single immensely powerful muscle, which closes the two halves of the shell. The flesh is edible when well boiled, and certain parts can even be quite tasty, with a delicate sea flavour; I even ate some raw, much to the horror of the Onges. (They were equally scandalized at my eating raw some of the excellent oysters, which they despise.)

Some of the *Tridacna* of the Andamans and Nicobar can weigh over two and a half hundredweights. The actual flesh is not heavy – the two halves of a magnificent *T. squamosa* that I caught at Nancowry in the Nicobars and gave to the Governor of the Andamans weighed nearly one and a half hundredweights and were over 1·3

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Appendix

Below is given a brief summary of the evidence which in the author's opinion supports his view that the culture of the Andaman Islanders dates back at least to the Palaeolithic era.

1 ABSENCE OF STONE IMPLEMENTS

There are in the Andamans abundant sources of stones suitable for shaping into tools. Despite this I found no traces whatever of any stone implements even in the lowest strata of the kitchen-middens, nor is there any evidence of their being used either in the more recent past or at the present time. Until the very recent introduction of iron the Onges always (as the kitchen-middens confirm) made tools solely of wood, with the addition of parts made from *Tridacna* shells, shaped by long and patient rubbing against stone. The only objects remotely approaching the definition of stone implements are the splinters of quartz or obsidian which are carried in the hair, and used as razors or, in the Arioto only, for primitive tattooing. These splinters, which are in no way shaped after being broken off, are thrown away as soon as they become blunt, and a new piece of quartz is crudely struck from a lump, by men or women indiscriminately. The existence of this one stone implement does not, in my view, justify the classification of the Onges (or the Andamanese in general) as a true Palaeolithic people; it would be more reasonable to class them as prelithic.

2 ABSENCE OF METAL WORKING

Even today the Onges' knowledge of metal working is confined to rubbing pieces of iron against stone to reduce them to the required shape. They have no knowledge of how to forge it, nor have they the tools to do so. Iron is clearly a very recent introduction, the importance of which the

802
805 or form of numerical evaluation is further support for the extremely low stage of cultural development at which they became isolated.

22 ART

302
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532 When painting their bodies with ochre the Onges have no idea of symbolic representation, and use only geometrical designs. These invariably seem spontaneous, and in my view do not represent a degenerate form of some more highly evolved art, half forgotten over the centuries; in short, the 'artists' of the Andamans, with no conception of symbolism, are even today less advanced than their Palaeolithic counterparts.

23 DIGGING STICKS

172
412 In late Palaeolithic deposits, stones with holes in them have been found which correspond to those still in use among peoples such as the Bushmen, to add weight to their digging sticks. The absence even today of any form of weighted stick in the Andamans, where stone is plentiful, would appear to antedate the culture at least to early Palaeolithic.

24 HUNTING

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[411] The Onges still use the Palaeolithic throwing stick, although it is not their main hunting weapon. They have no idea of fixed traps, which must from the evidence have been known in Palaeolithic times, and it is hard to believe that a people so dependent upon hunting would have lost the art once it had been acquired. They have crude nets which the women use for fishing, but these are probably a comparatively recent introduction, which has arrived via the Nicobars.

25 DOMESTIC ANIMALS

231
174 The Andamanese have none, and this would seem to add weight to the evidence for their great antiquity.

26 ECONOMY

433 There is no economic system of any kind, and from the evidence available it is highly unlikely that even the most primitive form ever existed.
185
437 There is no conception whatever of providing for tomorrow, or of any form of exchange or barter.